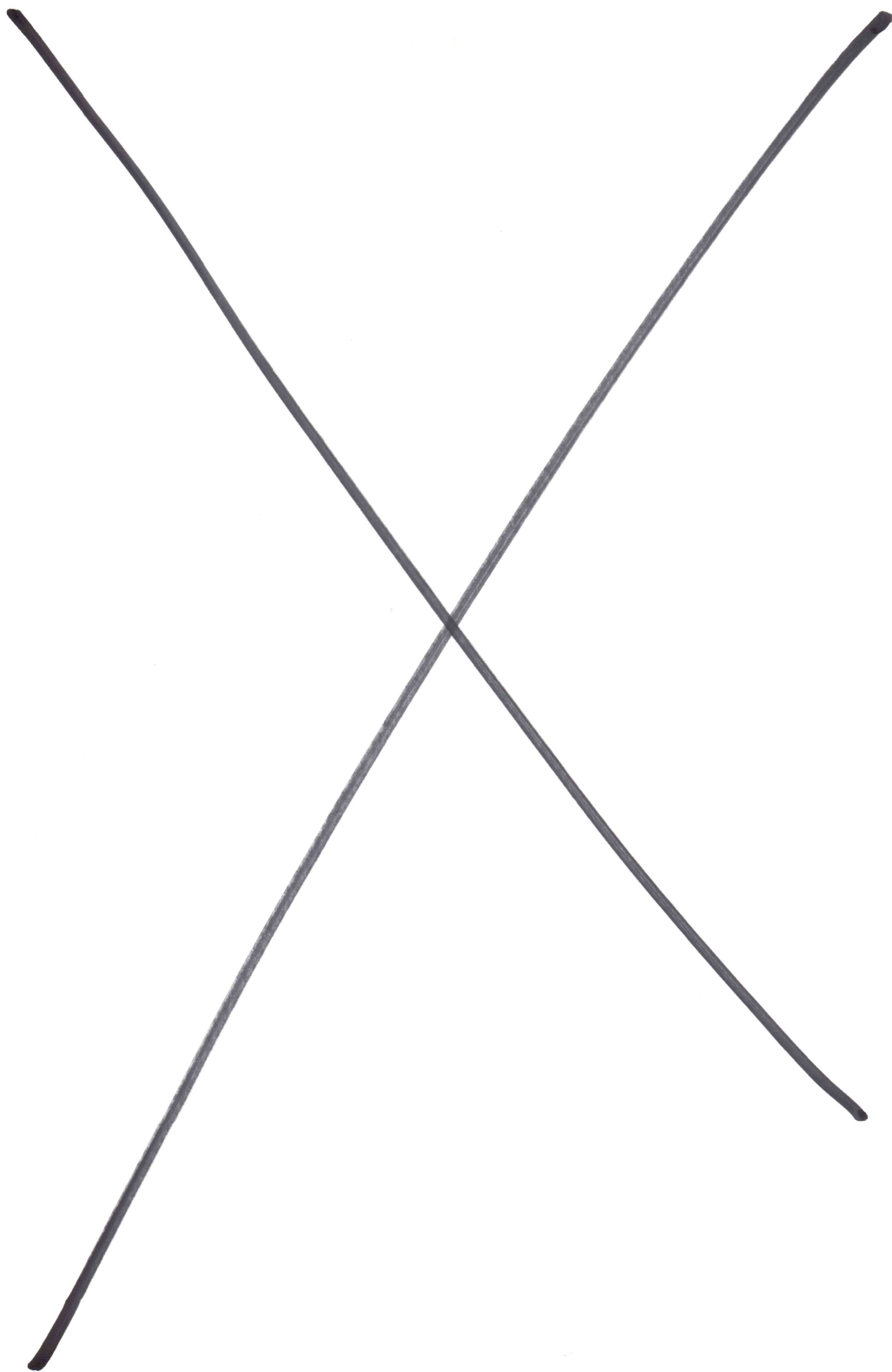


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ON THE COVER: Spiral stair in the Rotunda Internacional, Mission Inn (1931; G. Stanley Wilson, architect). 1984 photo, M. Ovnick. Cover designed by Hortensia Chu.

CONVALESCENCE AND CALIFORNIA

The Civil War Comes West

By William Deverell

PRESENTED AS THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL LECTURE
IN THE W. P. WHITSETT CALIFORNIA LECTURE SERIES,
CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE,
APRIL 20, 2007¹

My remarks this evening all spring from a book project currently underway. I was trained as a Civil War historian by the Civil War scholar James M. McPherson. While I was in graduate school, my own scholarly interests migrated westward, and I chose western American history as my major field of interest, research, teaching, and writing. It has been my preoccupation for the last twenty years. But I maintain a kind of nagging attraction to the roots of my scholarly training, the coming of, waging of, and ultimate meanings of, the Civil War. I think that in the back of my mind I've been trying for several decades to figure out a way to amalgamate my interest in the West and the Civil War, to hit upon a research project that brings the two together. This book, and the part of it that makes up the following Whitsett Lecture, is about the post-Civil War American West. What role did the West play in the national drama of Reconstruction? What role did the West play in the healing, or attempts at healing, of the shattered nation and its shattered soldiers in the years and decades following the peace at Appomattox?

When does war end? At peace? At a treaty? At conquest? At a stand-down? At ultimate defeat? Yes, of course, but wars end elsewhere, too. War's end for countries in places and spaces very different than where they might end for individuals caught up in them. Think about the difference between the end of war for a nation and the end of war for a soldier. For a soldier war can end at death. At injury. At sickness. At desertion. At dereliction. At shell shock. At the space between harm's way and convalescence.

When did the Civil War end? I know it ended in 1865. I know it ended on Palm Sunday, when Lee surrendered to Grant, mere days before the Good Friday assassination of Abraham Lincoln, who had only that briefest interval, barely five days, to be freed from his terrible commander-in-chief burdens before John Wilkes Booth martyred him for the ages.

But let me offer two bookends, a nation apart, that might suggest a figurative coda to the Civil War. The Civil War might be said to have ended when the great battlefields of the contest were rendered commemorative sites. This is largely a late, indeed a very end-of-the-nineteenth-century phenomenon, and much credit for this has to be granted to John Page Nicholson, a Civil War veteran so obsessed with the place of the Civil War in national culture that, as a young officer in the midst of the conflagration, he painstakingly began collecting regimental and other histories on his own. Decades later, he would be placed in charge of the commemorative efforts to render the battlefields as virtual or actual national parks. From there, bestowed with statues, plaques, and monuments large and small, they entered national culture as somehow monuments to peace every bit as much as reminders of war, if not more so.²

And they had their baptism, if you will, in this commemorative and commemorating process, none more compelling or poignant than that of the most famous and most important battlefield in all American history. We might suggest that the Civil War ended in 1913, when enfeebled former Confederate soldiers, walking where they once ran, charged somewhat unsteadily up the long rise of Cemetery Ridge at Gettysburg, where they were met, with hugs and tears, by former Union foes. We might say, as many at that time did, that in some ways the Civil War ended there, in that moment of fraternal redemption, a half century removed from Gettysburg's horrific violence and Abraham Lincoln's valiant effort to wring higher meaning from the bloody sacrifice of so many dead, dying, and wounded.³

But maybe that storybook moment on Cemetery Ridge, important as it was, isn't the time and place to end the war. And maybe we'd better come West for a different perspective, a different vantage. For at the same time, and just mere miles from where we are gathered here this afternoon, a group of fairly ragtag theatrical performers were doing their own version of Civil War re-enactment, every bit as dramatic, compelling, and ultimately symbolic as that of the old men at Gettysburg. This was a different marking of the fiftieth anniversary of that hallowed ground of battle. This was in the hills and fields of greater Los Angeles; this was the making of D. W. Griffith's masterpiece, *Birth of a Nation*, a film that raised all sorts of questions about the meaning, legacies, and ultimate purposes of the Civil War, a film blamed for the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, and a film that suggested the Civil War was both not over and was, in fact, the recurring problem or sore within the American body politic. Griffith, in the West and from the West, suggested that the Civil War was anything but redemptive.

Whether that was true or not is immaterial; what the film, and particularly reception of the film, made clear was that the nation, and the West, had a long way to go before any racial divides gave way or gave ground to redemption. At virtually the same moment that elderly Gettysburg warriors reunited so symbolically on the eastern battlefield, Griffith and his film fired a cinematic western shot that stirred up the meaning of the war all over again.

Griffith and his film help us begin to think about the West in the aftermath of the war, and his is a troubling vision of the nation at the dawn of the twentieth century. Having come through the conflagration, what did it all mean?

Now, to be sure, there are other ways to draw the West into our thinking about the Civil War and its aftermath, and we shouldn't be surprised about this, despite the usual textbook and scholarly tendencies to neatly and surgically excise the West from the war and its many meanings. All we need to do, really, is look closer at the historical record and historical landscape.

There are other visions, western visions, of the post-Civil War world. For example, consider this story: in the late 1880s, an old man died in Pasadena. Owen Brown, one of John Brown's twenty children, who had been "mentally astray for some time," died in the home of his brother-in-

law Henry Thompson; his last words were, "it is better to be in a place and suffer wrong than to do wrong."⁴

Owen Brown had been, along with a number of his brothers, with his father at the notorious Harper's Ferry Raid in the late 1850s; abolitionist zealot and scripture-quoting John Brown had imagined that a raid upon the federal armory there would lead to a slave insurrection by which the institution of slavery would be at last destroyed. The raid was a murderous farce—the first man killed was the African American night watchman of the armory—and offered up one of the most remarkable ironies of the era; Brown and his ragtag group were vanquished by none other than United States Army Colonel Robert E. Lee. From there Brown was himself soon hanged and, in the process, martyred as a symbol of the North's rising abolitionist, and violent, sentiments at the very dawn of the Civil War. It also seems as if Owen was one of the last of the Harper's Ferry raiders to die, which in and of itself might suggest to us another opportunity to mark yet a different conclusion to the Civil War.

Owen Brown's obituary said that he was one of the few to escape the bloody Harper's Ferry fiasco, "through mountain fastnesses and swamps and forests and sassafras leaves." Some years later, Owen, along with his brother Jason, began homesteading high in the San Gabriel Mountains—clearing some land, working a few acres, and living in a tiny cabin. There, as the obituary put it, lived "two feeble old men," men whose beards flowed nearly to their waists, men who were much visited by tourists and the curious.

Two thousand Southern Californians attended Owen Brown's funeral. The pall bearers were a who's who of old abolitionists who had come west following the war, and they bore the casket from the funeral parlor to the tune and strains of "John Brown's Body," with its chorus of "Glory, glory hallelujah! His soul is marching on."

The reclusive, odd Brown brothers, sons of "old John Brown," who settled not far from where we are gathered this afternoon, did not just fall into Pasadena. They did not choose their mountain hideaway simply because it was so far away from Harper's Ferry, from Bleeding Kansas, from their father's Virginia execution, though I am sure that distance formed part of their reasoning for living out their final days in Southern California. Atop their mountain, they were hermits, peculiar. But they had both seen a lot of death by then and probably had their own versions of post-traumatic stress disorder.

On the one hand, Southern California came of age in an era of remarkable racial inclusiveness. Much of this emerged out of the cauldron of the Civil War and what it left in its legislative wake. The constitutional hat trick of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, ending slavery, allowing for the black vote, and legislating protection under the due process clause, were revolutionary in their aims. Aims and execution weren't the same thing, of course, and much of the idealism, at least on the national level, was pretty quickly wrecked on the shoals of Southern resistance. But it is important for us to see the ties from the region to the war in just this way, to examine the context surrounding the presence of Owen, Jason, and Ruth Brown, and their racial egalitarianism, here in Southern California.

I think convalescence, as an idea, a faith, and a conviction, has a great deal to do with this—the convalescence of putting the nation back together, the convalescence of putting the wounded back together, the convalescence of repairing, or attempting to repair, the pain of centuries of racial antagonism and racial horrors.

I think the West, especially California, and most especially Southern California, spoke to these dire needs. And if we look closely enough in the historical record, we can find others who thought so, too.

In 1864, as the Civil War waged, and in commemoration of California's admission to the Union fourteen years earlier, the poet and short story writer Bret Harte wrote a poem. It is a poem of contrasts, contrasts between the war in the East and the pastoral tranquility and beauty of California and the far West. At the poem's conclusion, Harte compares California's "full harvest and the [wagon's] advance" to the bloodied battlefields of Civil War: "there the Grim Reaper and ambulance."⁷

Harte may or may not have been a great short story writer, but it is probably fair to say that he was not a great poet. But that's entirely beside the point here, for in this little couplet, he cleverly tied together in just a few words what struck so many Americans in the era of the Civil War and its aftermath—the country had been cleaved in two twice. First between North and South—hence the war; then between the theaters of war in the East, North and South included, and the pacific landscapes of the trans-Rocky Mountain West, California preeminent among them. There war, here peace. There death, here life. There injury and blood, here convalescence and healing.⁸

Southern California beckoned because it is far away, but it beckoned, too, because Southern California, or at least parts of it, moved beyond the self-congratulatory language of boosterism and actually got into the healing act, actually tried to build a more egalitarian corner of the world as regards race and redemption.

The Brown brothers were observers of the world for the most part, though seemingly deeply devoted to temperance, cramped into their little cabin atop the San Gabriels. But their sister, Ruth Brown Thompson, was different.

She was married to Henry Thompson—it was their home in which Owen died. Henry Thompson was also with John Brown at Harper's Ferry. His two brothers, Dauphin and William, were killed in that raid. Henry Thompson had been shot through the lungs at the Battle of Black Jack in Kansas in 1856, when pro- and anti-slavery forces fought a pitched three-hour battle not long after John Brown and his followers had hacked five proslavery men to death in the Pottawattomie Massacre. Some consider the Battle of Black Jack to be the first battle of the Civil War.⁵

Southern California was not so far from this world. On the contrary, Southern California was highly responsive to this world. It styled itself as a redemptive place, a place where healing and convalescence could take place, a place far removed, even chastened, by the horrors of the Civil War.

Ruth Brown Thompson and Henry Thompson lived in the Arroyo Seco in Pasadena. It was Ruth Brown Thompson who took the region up on its post-war healing promises: she ran a convalescent hospital there, ministering to the sick and doing so across the racial divides that were rapidly solidifying as the century waned. And when she came down on her luck, to be redeemed by the friends she had made in the African American community, she acknowledged her thanks and debts in a letter published in the local paper:

To the Afro-American League, Pasadena, Cal.

Dear Friends: Please accept our warmest thanks for the gift of fifty-eight dollars and two cents. We feel an especial gratitude for your generosity as coming from those for whom John Brown gave up his life. We shall think of you often with grateful hearts.⁶

Where do these stories come from? And, in terms of what history can tell us, where do these stories go? What can we learn, what do we need to know, about this region and the aftermath of the Civil War?

"Wagon's advance" and "ambulance" make for a poor rhyme. But Harte was on to something he may not have known at the time. The Union Army's ambulance corps during the Civil War was something new in medical and military history, at least insofar as United States troops were concerned.

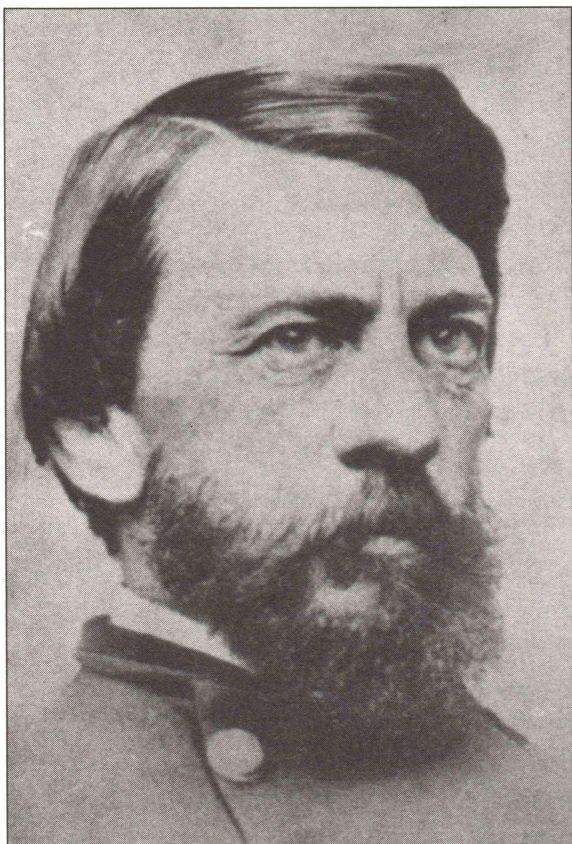
The ambulance corps was the brainchild of a physician named Jonathan Letterman. Slight, short, and thin, Letterman—a doctor with what an acquaintance called the "face of a scholar"—trained as a physician at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia before the outbreak of the Civil War. Following completion of his medical training, Letterman joined the antebellum medical corps of the United States Army and was assigned to a rotation of installations in the West.

Rising rapidly in his career, he became a prominent surgeon and was made medical director of the Army of the Potomac during the Civil War. He is best known as author of the famed Letterman Plan, a far-reaching reorganization of Union hospitals and healthcare around a set of principles including fresh air, modular tent hospitals, battlefield triage, and the creation and efficient use of an ambulance corps. With ambulances, generally wagons pulled by men or horses, the battlefield wounded could be hastily fetched from where they previously would have lain for hours or even days, put into a triage system of care, and assigned then to their next destination: hospital, home, or back to the battlefield.

Jonathan Letterman knew Bret Harte's Grim Reaper well. Any surgeon—any soldier—in the Civil War would have. And he was appalled by the carnage of the war, both that wrought by the hostilities and by the surgeons who worked for him. As he wrote following one engagement, "The Surgery of these battle fields has been pronounced butchery."⁹

In the very year that Bret Harte wrote his California commemoration, 1864, Jonathan Letterman quit the service, and I suspect it had much to do with his revulsion at the human wreckage the war and its surgeons produced. His quitting was not in itself so unusual; we do not know nearly enough about Civil War resignations but we know that they happened.

But what Jonathan Letterman did next is at least slightly odd. He moved all the way across the nation here to Southern California, to what was then called Buena Ventura, what we now call Ventura on the coast north of Los Angeles, which in the mid-1860s was a humble crossroads of mostly nothingness. From this modest base of operations, Letterman pur-



Dr. Jonathan Letterman, medical director of the Army of the Potomac during the Civil War, relocated to Southern California hoping that relocation would allow him to start life anew. *Courtesy of Library of Congress LC-USZ62-117330.*

sued two projects, one a failure and one a success. One, he became an unsuccessful wildcat oil speculator working for a man named James de Barth Shorb, but he and Shorb failed miserably. Shorb would later get rich, build a big house on his ranchland south of Pasadena, go broke, and end up selling his ranch lock, stock, and barrel to Henry Huntington, who then established there his library, art collection, and botanical gardens.

Dr. Letterman had more success with his second project. While in Southern California, he wrote a book entitled *Medical Recollections of the Army of the Potomac*, a first-rate history of the Civil War from the physician's vantage.¹⁰ The book is literally a medical history of the Civil War written in the West. At the same time, the volume offers a metaphorical connection to the medical history of the Civil War written in the lives and

bodies of the thousands of veterans, Union and Confederate alike, who, alongside countless others, came to the West following the war, hoping that relocation would allow them to start life anew, if not life healed.

Jonathan Letterman's story is not a happy one; his far West was all about death, not life. Following his oil-hunting failure, he moved north to San Francisco and became that city's coroner. His young wife, Mary, whom he had married just before resigning his commission, took ill and died. Shattered by her death and prone to reclusiveness, Letterman died in 1872. The recently demolished military hospital at the Presidio Army installation in San Francisco was named for him in the early twentieth century, and if he's known at all today (and mostly he is not), it is for that honor.

John Brown's shell shocked sons. Their healing sister. Bret Harte's California poem, with its ambulance facing westward. Jonathan Letterman's life, his ambulances, and his medical history of the Civil War written at the very edge of the Pacific Ocean. Taken together, these figures and features hint at a different kind of California Dream of the latter nineteenth century that historians and others have unaccountably forgotten or at the least neglected. Their California, and their Southern California—Harte's, Letterman's, the Browns'—and their American West is the place of a certain set of dreams, dreams having everything to do with the Civil War, with convalescence, and with hope of gradual healing of both the body and the body politic.

As is perhaps already clear, I do not understand the decoupling of the Civil War from the experience of the West, a decoupling that occurred in precisely the same period. Think, for instance, about Los Angeles. We usually date the rise of Los Angeles to the mid-1880s, through the boom, the boosters, the railroad rivalries. We know that Los Angeles—it's brash and boisterous. I've written in other contexts about the hangover of the Mexican American War here in the far West and have argued that we would all be collectively better informed of the history of our place if we took that into greater account.

But we also, certainly, forget, and seemingly willfully forget, the presence of the Civil War in the lives of the people out here during the rise of Los Angeles. If you came to Los Angeles, on the make, ready to tackle the challenges and pitfalls of this place, and it was 1885, the Civil War was as close to you as the late 1980s are to us. It was with you.

More importantly, our excision of the Civil War negates and makes a mockery of the Civil War's almost indescribably profound impact upon the lives of all Americans. Historians are very fond of saying that the Civil War is still with us, and I admit that I'm one of them. But what that means, really, is that the momentousness of the event back then was so astonishing that its innumerable wakes and shock waves yet reverberate in our lives today. One could hardly live through the war without knowing someone or being related to someone who was wounded or killed in the war. The dead and wounded from the war amounted to well over a million men, or something in the neighborhood of one out of every thirty-four Americans at the time. The nation, North and South, was awash in the wounded following the war; entire chunks of state budgets, especially in the states of the former Confederacy, became earmarked for the treatment of the wounded. In the years immediately following the war, one fourth of the entire state budget of the state of Mississippi went for the purchase of artificial limbs for Confederate veterans of the war.

Americans, Northerner and Southerner alike, moved West in the postwar era in part because of the Civil War, because they wanted to get away, because they wanted to heal, physically, emotionally, or otherwise. And most of them came on the transcontinental railroad, which was, if anything, a device by which the nation was supposed to be drawn together after the war, a gigantic suture tying together the torn-asunder North and South. If we simply populate Los Angeles with excited mid-westerners railroading out here to remake Iowa, Indiana, or Michigan here in the basin, and forget the very recent Civil War sacrifice of those states and those people, and fail to mention the Virginians, the Georgians, and the Carolinians, we aren't paying very close attention to what the Los Angeles historical record is telling us.

I think that re-coupling the war with the region can be done in two critical ways: one is in regard to the coming of the war, and one is in regard to the ways in which the nation tried to heal the awful wounds of that war.

There's no doubt that the Civil War made the modern American West. Emerging from the catastrophe with a mighty and centralized federal presence, the United States set about incorporating the West into the nation in the aftermath of the war. That process took a generation, aimed at the final conquest of native peoples, tied the region into national net-

works of economy and transportation, and urged western settlement through further rationalization of the public lands.

But so, too, did the American West provoke and, in a very real sense, cause the Civil War. Abstract early nineteenth-century disagreements over territorial expansion and the future of slavery became fighting words by the 1840s and 1850s. The rapid escalation of sectional strife toward disunion can be drawn as an upward curve from one western moment or place to another. From the 1830s sectional turmoil surrounding expansion and warfare in Texas, through the 1846–48 brutal little war against the Republic of Mexico and subsequent Congressional and Constitutional questions over territorial acquisition, on to the Compromise of 1850 and the meaning of California, and thence to the killing plains of Bleeding Kansas by the mid-1850s: each arena of rising conflict had much to do with fundamental disagreements over the meaning of western conquest and the westward expansion of slavery or free-labor ideology. Taken together, they first rehearsed, and then helped to cause, the Civil War.

Historians of antebellum America correctly insist that the far West played a critical role in the eventual capitulation to war. Scholars know well the ways in which questions over the future of western territories, before and especially following the Mexican War, provoked political and other antagonisms on the ground and in Washington. The West helped bring about the war in one shattering moment after another, and western politicians proved incapable of meeting the challenges of sectionalism effectively, or were at the very least in over their heads, naïve and utterly unable to reverse the rush to the precipice that their very own region was initiating. By the time John Brown took what he learned as an abolitionist zealot in Kansas, namely how to slaughter pro-slavery opponents in cold blood, to the East and that federal armory at Harper's Ferry, the war was a *fait accompli*. Lincoln's election and the South's immediate secession were but additional preludes, not causes, of the clash that followed so quickly.

But what of the West after the war? With a few notable exceptions—generally works that trace Reconstruction policies in western settings—historians have too quickly jettisoned the West from their teaching and research devoted to the Civil War and the postwar period. This tendency (encapsulated in the usual textbook recitation of postwar western history through formulations such as “the Conquest of the West” or “the Rise of the West”) is profoundly misleading.

Western historians look for the Civil War in the West in the wrong places. A skirmish here or there, a real battle in northern New Mexico, and that is supposedly the whole story. But it is not so. The war was everywhere—in rhetoric and politics—and thus the impact of the war was also everywhere. If ever there was a case of western or American historians looking for trees while missing the obviousness of the forest, this is it. Yes, there were a few Civil War battles of importance in the West. The dramatic engagement at Glorietta Pass, New Mexico, is the most famous and most important, and it did blunt a Confederate hope to hold a supply and territory line in the far Southwest, stretching north even into pockets of pro-slavery sympathies very strongly expressed right here in Los Angeles. But finding battlefields, digging up spent bullets, or plotting troop movements is not the only, or even most emblematic, way to find the Civil War in the West. The war was fought on battlefields of the East and South, and it was fought there because of the ways in which northern, southern, and western politicians disagreed about the West. As such, the war was everywhere in the West—before, during, and after hostilities.

Now, if difficult and apparently insurmountable questions about the fate of the West in the nation caused the Civil War, because antagonistic sections of the Union could no longer peaceably agree about what the West would look like, and for whom—what did the West do to heal the wounds of that war?

The question was not lost on sharp observers or people who understood, if wishfully, that the West had a special role (if not special obligation) in the postwar aftermath when peace ought to reign. Some understood that soon-to-be veterans would find their way West. In early 1865, for example, the *New York Herald* wrote of the restlessness and independence of soldiers, insisting that postwar work—"the dull routine of regular employments"—would hardly satisfy men accustomed to the nomadic adventurousness of soldiering. "There are plenty of fine, strapping fellows who would laugh at the idea of being bound down to a bench or a spade after having enjoyed the liberty of war." What would become of these men? They would go west. "Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, Montana, and Utah, to say nothing of Mexico, Sonora, Sinaloa, Durango, Chihuahua, Lower California, are yearning for such settlers as those in the armies of the North and the South. . . . They will go there, settle down, populate the country, get rich and double the size of the Union within twenty years."¹¹

It is intriguing that the *Herald* assumed postwar peace between Northerners and Southerners in the West, as if geography alone could overwhelm the antagonisms of the "late unpleasantness." It is a wishful, if quaint, notion about a region where, as elsewhere, even the veterans' hospitals like our own in Los Angeles, that would eventually open in Westwood once Senator John P. Jones of Nevada provided the government with the large parcel of land, would be open only to those soldiers who had fought on the side of the Union. The postwar peace made no provision for Confederate veterans in this regard.

But what the *Herald* missed is as interesting as what the paper surmised. What was missing was the convalescent quality of much of that postwar migration westward and the reasons for it. The larger project from which this lecture is derived is one in which I expect to pay attention to westering people, individuals and collective Americans both, and I want to try to understand their journeys in the years after (and because of) the Civil War. This will be, I suspect, a book mostly about them. But it is about how they got to the West; such a perspective invites a closer look at that transcontinental railroad suture. The railroad project spanning the nation was perfectly coincident with, and not at all coincidental to, the Civil War.

Scarcely a week after the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect in early 1863, groundbreaking ceremonies were held in Sacramento for the launch of the Central Pacific Railroad. Designed to be built eastward, to meet the westward-building Union Pacific somewhere—the Central Pacific and its role in the transcontinental project was hailed as something other than ordinary railroad building. This, like the language of Bret Harte's couplet, was the western answer to the eastern Civil War.

"Hail, then, all hail," exclaimed an orator at that groundbreaking, "this auspicious hour! Hail this bond of brotherhood and union! Hail this marriage tie between the Atlantic and the Pacific! Hail, all hail, this bow of promise which amid all the clouds of war is seen spanning the continent—the symbol, the harbinger, the pledge of a higher civilization and an ultimate and world-wide peace!"¹²

It would be almost a year before any rails were laid. But the burden was already placed on the railroad project to provide the iron stitches for the wounded nation—on a line east to west, the rail project would heal North and South. Central Pacific and Union Pacific would meet, and not

only would the oceans be bridged, but so too would the railroad corporations herald a renewal of the injured nation itself.

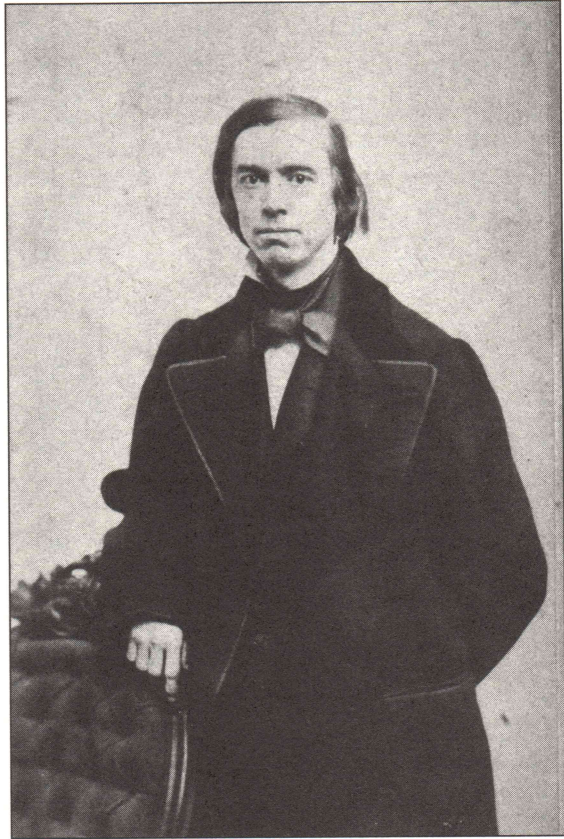
The point was hardly lost on preachers; their sermons tied the railroad to the biblical exhortation to "make straight in the desert a highway for our God" and forcefully prophesized great tidings to be brought forth upon the driving of the last spike. Said one, "I think we must all feel that the mission of railroads is somewhere in the general direction of human peace, fraternity, unity. Clearly these iron bonds which bind States ...hint a higher and warmer and purer brotherhood of mankind."¹³

Another made the point all the more vehemently. With the railroad, "the New Jerusalem is coming down out of Heaven, and will switch off into Oakland." This unsubtle declaration that the Second Coming was at hand was not so unusual in the 1860s; some believed that the Civil War itself could be found in the Book of Revelation's prophecies, while others assumed that the railroad itself would provide divine transportation for Jesus Christ's triumphal return earthward. And, to be sure, that holy arrival was to take place in the West. Linkage of the completion of the transcontinental railroad to the fulfillment of the messianic prophecy is but a single instance of the supposedly redemptive power of the postwar American West.

And lest we think that is mostly or only a moment of northern California celebration, we should remember that the transcontinental railroad arrived in Southern California but eight years later to fanfare, celebration, and claims of prophecies and promises fulfilled nearly as vociferous and joyful.

People of far more ordinary stature than Jesus Christ himself most certainly did come west or wish to come west, driven there by the Civil War, and their journeys heralded redemption of a different cast or power. For example, Surgeon Jonathan Letterman shared San Francisco in common with his contemporary, Thomas Starr King. Known mostly by his middle and last names, Starr King, as a young Unitarian preacher in Boston, had been a favorite of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Barely five feet tall and very slight, King had delicate health. But he was a brilliant orator who captivated his audiences with fiery denunciations of the war and slavery. King moved to northern California in 1860 to take up a pulpit in San Francisco, and he knew well the impact of the Civil War on the nation and its young men, even from the far-off Pacific Coast.

Fiery orator and Unitarian minister Thomas Starr King moved to California in 1860, where he preached peace and healing. *Courtesy of California Faces: Selection from The Bancroft Library Portrait Collection; University of California, Berkeley.*



King's many contemporary admirers, including Abraham Lincoln, argued that he kept California in the Union and out of the Confederacy. This claim is often made here in Southern California, a hotbed of Confederate sympathies.¹⁴ King's words and fire-and-brimstone pronouncements were powerful fodder for Unionists in Los Angeles. Did he keep California in the Union? No. This exaggerates both the state's Confederate leanings and King's influence. Nonetheless, horrified by the war's carnage, he did preach peace and healing and used his California pulpit to great moral advantage. He organized a far-western branch of the United States Sanitary Commission, which raised huge sums for the treatment of wounded Union soldiers. Caught up in the effort well beyond his abilities to withstand the stress, King preached himself to death, dying of diphtheria at thirty-nine in 1864.

King's death can be understood as part of a triptych of Civil War martyrs. John Brown established the first link in this chain by his martyrdom to the cause of anti-slavery when hanged at the end of 1859 for his quixotic and murderous quest to loot the federal armory at Harper's Ferry of its weapons in order to start a domestic insurrection against slavery. His martyrdom was in the name of the redemptive power of warfare, as Brown aimed, as he put it, "to purge the land with blood."

Once John Brown attempted his assault on Harper's Ferry, once the abolitionist North embraced his gallows offer of ferocious martyrdom, the Civil War had all but arrived. Thomas Starr King's western martyrdom was different—like Lincoln's, his death was wrapped in opposition to the war. Brown's death helped inaugurate the war; King and Lincoln died, in effect, as victims of it.

Starr King saw in the far West, and especially in a place like California's Yosemite, which he adored, the hope both for national unification and closeness to God. His death was hailed as a way to unite the nation, East and West, North and South, through honoring his life and vision. His was a life marked as a western beacon of peace, and after his death many seemed to think that this vision and work would continue. As the *Los Angeles Times*, which apotheosized King when it started publication decades after his death, observed, "By his grave it seemed as if strife was for the hour ended."¹⁵

And what of that martyr lofted far above Starr King? Killed on Good Friday, 1865, Abraham Lincoln never made it to California. But he wanted to. Within hours before his death, Lincoln spoke of visiting the far West. Utterly exhausted by the commander-in-chief stresses of leading the Union through four years of war, the congenitally melancholy president yearned for the rejuvenation and convalescence that California seemed to promise.

Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives, met with Lincoln on the day of the assassination. When he told the president that he was soon to be off to California, Lincoln responded that he wished that he could come along. Later that day, Lincoln went for a carriage ride with his wife. His thoughts again turned to California and the far West. He proposed to Mary Lincoln that they travel to the Rockies and go thence on to California. The trip would be restful and reinvigorating. Lincoln was in an exuberant mood, Mary recalled later, so much so he startled her.

His assassination makes the moment all the more ironic—Lincoln looked west for healing on the very day he was killed. In the end, it wasn't Lincoln that came; it was the widows: Custer's, Garfield's, and Fremont's. Los Angeles became their home or their refuge, and it would make for a fine historical study to try to figure out the connections between place and such examples of elite widowhood in the era of the Civil War.



A search for the cultural power of the healing West can take us to pages of fiction alongside those of biography and memoir. And in this respect, one book stands out above all others. *The Virginian*, a turn-of-the-century best seller now enshrined in the American canon, is all about a Southern boy scarred by the loss of male family members in the war. He lights out for the West. There, he meets and falls in love with New Englander Molly; together they drop their sectional loyalties and penchant for sectional antagonisms, and in the West they remake their own lives and, as the narrator makes clear, in doing so they symbolize a re-made America.

That narrator was author Owen Wister. His own life speaks of the search for health in the West. Suffering, like his mother, from neurasthenia, the grab-bag Gilded Age diagnosis used to describe maladies ranging from, among others, war-induced shell shock and post-traumatic stress disorder, anorexia nervosa, bi-polar disorder, schizophrenia, and simple exhaustion, both Wisters were patients of Dr. Silas Weir Mitchell, a Philadelphia physician famous for his treatment of neurasthenics and for co-authoring a treatise on the diagnosis and treatment of Civil War gunshot wounds. Mitchell ordered Wister's mother, Sarah, to bed. He ordered her son to the West. Owen Wister's westering changed his life, and he paid back a regional debt in his fiction: the West of *The Virginian* is nothing short of the new America, a place shorn of long-standing enmity between North and South and a place where North and South could find redemption in new matrimonial bonds.

I think America suffered from the neurasthenia borne of nationwide postwar stress disorder. The South had chosen to amputate itself from the Union, despite Lincoln's constitutional insistence that secession was not literally possible, that this rash act could only be illegitimate rebellion. So many of our stereotypical associations of the West and true American

character—rugged individualism, the cowboy mystique, the association of American values with particular landscapes—date from the postwar era. The nation was in search of itself. A wounded North mistrusted the South; the shattered South mistrusted the North: the West and all that it could mean about America, beckoned.

Wounded in body and body politic both, the nation and its people looked west and went west. To the Rockies, to the Northwest, to the Southwest, and of course to California. We have long known of Southern California's attraction to those suffering pulmonary distress in the late nineteenth century. Both the well-to-do, suffering from "consumption," and the poor, whose identical maladies were termed "tuberculosis," came west hoping in vain for a cure. We can't really understand late nineteenth-century Southern California without grappling with diseases of this type. But we misread the story, I think, if we see these as somehow uncoupled from the great national trauma of the very recent Civil War. Pulmonary and other distress could be neurasthenic, just as they could be caused by insults less subtle than bacteria: a wartime gunshot wound, for example. The healing landscapes of the post-Civil War West, wishful though they may have been, need to be re-examined by scholars with a close eye on the Civil War and its effects. We need, in other words, to look for the war in the lives of the wounded; we need to see the amputees amidst the orange groves.

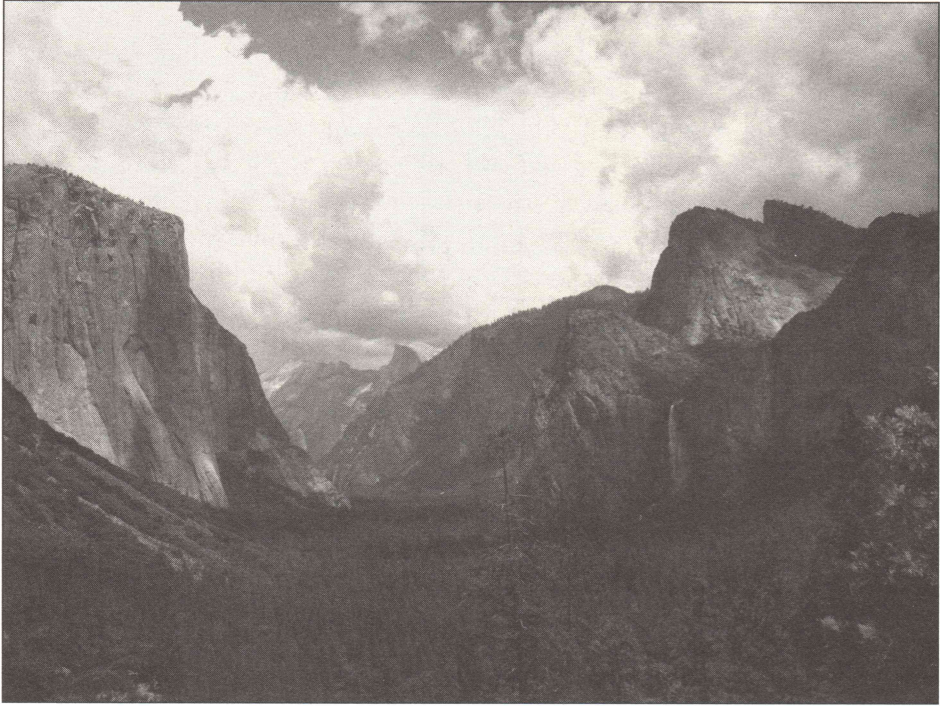
Owen Wister went west and it remade him. So, too, with his close friend, and the man to whom his novel is dedicated. Nearly incapacitated by fragile health and near-sightedness until the West bucked him up, Theodore Roosevelt was both healed and remade by the West, and it is that region he chose to embody for the rest of his life as the rough-riding cowboy and president. The same is again true with Charles Fletcher Lummis, who traded Harvard and a midwestern newspaper life for a famous walk across the Southwest in the 1880s. Los Angeles forever changed Lummis. He essentially stayed in Southern California for the rest of his busy life, where he would embody the Southwest (a region whose name he immodestly claimed to have invented) in vigorous displays of masculine vitality and virility, some of it undoubtedly fueled by his customary forty cups of coffee a day. As yet but in the earliest stages of a larger research project focused on these themes, I have been startled by the frequency of encounters with those whose lives echo with the power, presumed or real, of the postwar West to rejuvenate themselves and the nation.

Frederick Law Olmsted came west. From his position as secretary of the United States Sanitary Commission, where he saw firsthand and then wrote about the ravages of the war, Olmsted exchanged carnage for California. In 1864, the year of Bret Harte's poem, Starr King's death, and Jonathan Letterman's retreat to California, Olmsted wrote the first, and arguably the most important, treatise on Yosemite. In some specific Yosemite respects, his report is a kind of Letterman plan for the wounded nation—a prescription for the nation to medicate itself, physiologically and psychologically, by immersion in nature, by going, getting, and staying outdoors.

Starting with Olmsted, where so much seems to originate, might we re-examine the inauguration of the national park movement in light of the Civil War? The movement, aptly encapsulated by federal action regarding Yosemite in 1864 and Yellowstone in 1872, was both a western phenomenon at the outset and perfectly coincident with the rise of the nation's war-induced medical and psychological needs.

To Olmsted, the Yosemite Valley was already a park in the early 1860s. The valley floor was, he quickly surmised, ideally suited for contemplation and its rewards, a bigger and bolder environment in the genre of the New England landscapes of transcendental reverie, or his own Central Park. He oversaw the first Yosemite Commission, a body charged with formulating plans about management of the Yosemite landscape once Congress established protections for it. Olmsted responded with ideas by then very familiar to him about the necessity of melding democracy with nature in order to preserve both. The trauma of the Civil War had heightened the nation's "susceptibility" to contemplation, both aesthetic and therapeutic. As he wrote, "It is a fact of much significance with reference to the temper and spirit which ruled the loyal people of the United States during the war of the great rebellion that a livelier susceptibility to the influence of art was apparent."¹⁶

Olmsted's arguments emphasized the point that Yosemite's arrival into American consciousness, whether by way of famed 1860s photographs, paintings, or floridly descriptive writings, was about national healing and personal convalescence in both physical and psychological terms. "If we analyze the operation of scenes of beauty upon the mind," he wrote, "and consider the intimate relation of the mind upon the nervous system and the whole physical economy, the action and reaction



Frederick Law Olmsted saw Yosemite Valley as ideally suited for contemplation, both aesthetic and therapeutic. *Courtesy of M. Ovnick, May 1987.*

which constantly occur between bodily and mental conditions, the reinvigoration which results from such scenes is readily comprehended. Few persons can see such scenery as that of the Yosemite and not be impressed by it in some slight degree.”¹⁷

As had Letterman, Olmsted, Wister, King, and countless others, the shattered nation looked west, beyond the apocalyptic conflagration, to find, as Olmsted championed, environments peaceful and restorative. None were more important than Yosemite.

Olmsted envisioned for the West, and again one sees the impact of the Civil War in this, something different than the meanings attached to natural landmarks in the antebellum period. We must place Olmsted’s

contemplative Yosemite alongside its precursor as the most American of natural places—what Yosemite became, Niagara Falls once was. But Niagara, by virtue of what it is and was environmentally, was far less a contemplative site than Yosemite. It fit more into the need to see the sublime power of God at work so that the viewer might be scolded or shocked back into submissiveness in the Almighty's presence.

What remains to be connected are the dots of historical influence and historical personalities between, for instance, Olmsted's vision of the western landscape and Los Angeles' plaintive attempts to get Olmsted to come design landscapes for the growing region as early as the 1890s. Olmsted turned Los Angeles down, and again so did his sons in the early twentieth century, just as Gettysburg's fiftieth anniversary was being marked and *Birth of a Nation* was being made. By the time the Olmsteds agreed to think and design in Los Angeles, in the late 1920s, the Civil War era had at last passed. Lummis was gone; Los Angeles was not really in the Southwest anymore. It was the metropolitan hub on the verge of what the Second World War would bring it—just beyond the hiatus of the Depression—and the needs of the place had changed. When Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., offered up his plan of comprehensive landscape planning and, woven in, convalescent nature, the powers that be decided that they didn't need it, they didn't embrace it, they didn't buy it, and they didn't vote for it, and thus it died. One wonders what its fate might have been had it come about earlier, when its gifts might have been better appreciated by leaders and a population that had been through the Civil War.¹⁸

Yosemite is slightly out of field in a talk ostensibly about post-war Southern California. But there's a point to be made here. All the convalescent talk and faith regarding the Southern California landscape had its connections to the national parks, to Yosemite in particular, and to the fascinating notions about Los Angeles existing within a very special embrace of nature. And while we correctly emphasize northern California's, and especially the Bay Area's, connections to Yosemite, largely through the Sierra Club, we'd do well to remember that Yosemite played a very important role in the lives and imaginations of Southern Californians as well, that Southern California and Southern Californians played important roles in the creation and sustenance of Yosemite, as they do yet.

Should we connect John Muir, the so-called Yosemite hermit, to the far-off Civil War and to journeys of personal and physical redemption in

the West? I think so, just as I think we ought to be much more cognizant of the Southern California episodes in the lives of such people as Muir and, as well, famed photographer Carleton Watkins, Yosemite's first great photographer, whose work so anticipated that of Ansel Adams and whose views of the Southern California landscape were all about pastoral reflection and peaceful growth. Had not so much of Watkins' work burned up in the fires following the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, we'd have a better sense of his "Southern California-ness" and the ways in which he connected landscape, nature, region, and places like Yosemite.

Is it a surprise? John Muir loved Los Angeles, and many of the closest friends of his entire life were here. Raised in Wisconsin, John Muir came of age with the coming of the Civil War. It appalled him, not least because Wisconsin regiments were so much cannon fodder once Ulysses S. Grant figured out that he had far more men to sacrifice than did Robert E. Lee. Wisconsin sent nearly 100,000 men to fight for the Union in the war, and Wisconsin regiments, including the famed Iron Brigade, suffered high casualty rates in battles such as Antietam and Gettysburg.

John Muir dodged the wartime draft by walking to Canada, and thence throughout the continent and eventually on to California and to Yosemite, where he stayed four years or, in some ways, for the rest of his entire life.

To argue that Muir loved the Sierra Nevada landscape would vastly understate his passion. The mountain range was, as he put it so enduringly, "the Range of Light." His was assuredly a religious, redemptive exuberance about the Sierra. To Muir, God's handiwork was inscribed all over Yosemite. Muir's scamperings around the park, which are the stuff of legitimate legend a hundred years later, were inextricably tied to his devotional life. In the Yosemite landscape he saw a conduit to the divine and, increasingly, the divine itself. His searches, high and low and to and fro, are joyous in their abandon, a joy made infectious through his writings. Muir's ecstatic discoveries revealed and replenished his passion. It is not hard to discern the polarities in Muir's worldview. War, and especially the Civil War, was profanity. In Yosemite was divinity.

Muir exemplified Olmsted's lessons about the significance of Yosemite and, by extension, the landscapes of the entire postwar West, even the urban landscapes of an upstart city. But does that inform us that the post-

war West was truly a redemptive place? Could it heal the wounds of disunion, heartache, and death—national and individual insults that it has such a central role in provoking in the first place?

The short answer is that we don't know. But one promising avenue that calls out to be more deeply explored in precisely these terms is the historical experience of African Americans following the Civil War, and in this we come somewhat full circle back to Ruth Brown Thompson, her brothers, and her friends. In their courageous attempts to start life anew following the abolition of slavery, thousands of newly freed people effectively rearranged the heavens. Where the North Star had once shone brightly over places like Frederick Douglass' Rochester and his abolitionist newspaper, freedom's beacon in some ways rotated ninety degrees in the night sky of the postwar. Newly illuminated for black Southerners were places like Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, and, especially, California. Following the call of charismatic black leaders and preachers who self-consciously echoed Moses in the desert, freed Exodusters walked and rode west a step ahead of the Ku Klux Klan and the grim violence of what white Southerners claimed was their own postwar redemption of a flawed Dixie. Once West, these pioneers soon discovered that the glow of western freedom perhaps promised more than it delivered—many settled into all-black townships, self-segregated enclaves of self-sufficiency, racial pride, and solidarity at least partially insulated from the often less-than-ideal racial atmosphere of the far West.¹⁹

I think Los Angeles, and hopes tied to Los Angeles, were at the center of this post-Civil War black west. Consider W. E. B. Du Bois, the leading African American intellectual in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Du Bois fell in love with the far West. Hardly a gushing sentimentalist, Du Bois nonetheless nearly outboosted the boosters in his praise of Los Angeles written in the pages of *The Crisis*, the magazine of the new National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the organization he helped to found in the first decade of the twentieth century. "One never forgets Los Angeles and Pasadena," he wrote, "the sensuous beauty of roses and orange blossoms, the air and the sunlight and the hospitality . . . lingers long."²⁰

Du Bois very nearly pronounced Southern California—with its tree-lined boulevards, the fragrance of the flowers, the beaches, and freedom

wafting in the breezes—the promised land, the place where the physical and psychic hurts of slavery might be healed. Du Bois' fervent enthusiasm is all the more poignant because they seem so out of character for the hard-headed scholar who was the bridging figure between Frederick Douglass and Malcolm X. And he was at least partially, if not mostly, wrong, and there's undoubted poignancy in that, too.

For as black Southerners left a South retrenched in apartheid, Jim Crow accompanied them westward. That is not to doubt some of the redemptive qualities of life in the West. Life *was* better in the West. How could it not be when post-Civil War lynchings of blacks, and their white political allies in the party of Lincoln, became brutally routine? Life was better, but it got worse.

One can nearly see a window—call it a redemptive window—opened briefly in the postwar West. But for how long? A generation? The West not only appeared, but was, more racially egalitarian—the pattern holds for barometers attuned to anti-Semitism, anti-Mexican behavior, and anti-African American thought, word, and deed, in the single generation following the Civil War. That this had somehow to do with a redemptive hopefulness regarding region and regional promise would seem at least worthy of greater study, though glaring exceptions to the tendency arise to pose immediate contradiction.

And just to be clear, the postwar West utterly failed Asians and Asian Americans. The supposed racial threat Asians, especially the Chinese, posed to whiteness, was deemed so troubling that they alone were singled out as unacceptable candidates for the privileges of citizenship. Post-Civil War America excluded the Chinese from the nation—a racist diplomatic cudgel codified in 1880s exclusion laws—and such restrictions were of course first forged in the far West.



He might never have come west, but Abraham Lincoln knew all about national redemption. When he dedicated the new cemetery at Gettysburg in late 1863 with a few hundred words, he recast the Constitution by way of a reinterpretation of the Declaration of Independence. By taking the Declaration at its word, and thus radicalizing the document's

claims of equality among all people, Lincoln literally rewrote what the Civil War stood for, even as it continued to rage. That was a redemptive oratorical act, in that it cast greater honor on the Union dead that Lincoln spoke of that day, those from whom, he said, all should take "increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion."

It seems no surprise that Lincoln's thoughts turned west as the war closed in the spring of 1865. The Union had been preserved, but the cost had been shatteringly high. Well over a half million men lay dead. Countless others were sorely wounded in spirit and forever broken in body. And so, too, the nation itself. Why wouldn't Lincoln think to compare destruction and renewal, East and West? Why wouldn't he look to the West in his mind's eye as a convalescent landscape for both himself and the nation?

But five days following Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox, John Wilkes Booth assassinated Lincoln. Had he lived, Lincoln surely would have come west, if not in person then in beautiful language and oratory. He would have exhorted the West to live up to its convalescent promises to a wounded nation—and he would have asked more of the place, too. What we're left with is Lincoln on our landscape, and he's not hard to find—in the names of our schools and parks and neighborhoods, as a proxy to any actual visit he might have made in which he could have made his regional expectations of our place clear.

Make no mistake. As North and South looked west in the postwar for new national ideals and national meanings free of the violence borne of sectional conflict, Lincoln would have urged the West to live up to its promise—not of wealth—but of renewal and redemption. Lincoln fell. And we must conclude that the West fell short of its promise. But might we, in stories and the hopes of over a century ago, find the stuff by which to rededicate ourselves and our region to again be a place where, even now in a terrible time of war, the magnetic appeal of peace and redemption emanates and echoes from western places, from western hearts, and from western people? We will again soon see the wounded, the grievously wounded, in our midst. Might we renew a commitment to the belief that war ends when and where national and individual healing together begin?

NOTES

- ¹ The author offers sincere thanks to the Whitsett Committee and Whitsett Endowment at California State University, Northridge, especially professors Josh Sides and Merry Ovnick. Thanks as well to the Office of the Provost at the University of Southern California for research support.
- ² See the John Page Nicholson Collection at the Huntington Library. From 1861 to 1865, Nicholson served as regimental quartermaster with the 28th Pennsylvania Infantry regiment. He began to amass his collection of Civil War material at that time and added to it (prodigiously) following the war. From 1885 until his death in 1922, he served as recorder in chief of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and was Secretary of the Board of Commissioners of Gettysburg Monument. A very fine discussion of the culture of post-Civil War reconciliation is Nina Silber's *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).
- ³ As many as 55,000 veterans of the war attended the fiftieth anniversary of Gettysburg.
- ⁴ See *Pasadena Standard*, January 12, 1889 at http://tchester.org/sgm/msc/brown_funeral_notice.html
- ⁵ The author's thanks to Nick Smith and Gary Cowles for their assistance.
- ⁶ See *Pasadena Daily News*, November 19, 1901; the author thanks Nick Smith for this reference.
- ⁷ "Poem Delivered on the Fourteenth Anniversary of California's Admission into the Union, September 9, 1864," in Bret Harte, *Complete Poetical Works* (New York: F. P. Collier & Son, 1902).
- ⁸ For related and earlier discussion of many of the ideas presented here in this talk and essay, see the author's "Redemptive California: Re-thinking the Post-Civil War," in *Rethinking History* 11, no. 1 (March 2007): 61-78; see also the forthcoming essay "From the Farther West: Mormons, California, and the Civil War," in *The Journal of Mormon History*.
- ⁹ For the text of Letterman's letter, see *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. vol. 1, series 27 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), 106-17.
- ¹⁰ Jonathan Letterman, *Medical Recollections of the Army of the Potomac* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1866).
- ¹¹ *New York Herald*, February 6, 1865.
- ¹² See William Deverell, *Railroad Crossing: Californians and the Railroad, 1850-1910* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 12.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴ See Louis A. Di Donato, "Charles Myers Jenkins: A Sketch of the Extraordinary Life of an Ordinary Man," *Southern California Quarterly* 88 (Summer 2006): 125-60, about the Union Army experience of one Angeleno.
- ¹⁵ *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1887.
- ¹⁶ Quoted in Scott Hering, *Lines on the Land* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004), 19.
- ¹⁷ Linda W. Greene, *Yosemite: The Park and its Resources*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior/National Park Service, 1987), 56.
- ¹⁸ See Greg Hise and William Deverell, eds., *Eden by Design: The 1930 Olmsted/Bartholomew Plan for the Los Angeles Region* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000).
- ¹⁹ For black America's perspectives on Los Angeles, see Douglas Flaming's fine study, *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005).
- ²⁰ See William Deverell and Douglas Flaming, "Race, Rhetoric, and Regional Identity: Boosting Los Angeles, 1880-1930," in Richard White and John Findlay, eds., *Power and Place in the North American West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 117-43.

RIVERSIDE'S MISSION INN

The Beginning of a Landmark

By Maurice Hodgen

Light-hearted festivities at Riverside's Mission Inn filled the day and evening, even echoing into the night of October 30, 1977, as local residents and preservationists rejoiced at the designation earlier that year of the Inn as a National Historic Landmark.¹ Prestigious visitors joined them for the day's events: Governor Jerry Brown; U.S. Congressman George E. Brown of the 39th District; Assistant Interior Secretary Robert L. Herbst; Horace Albright, the former director of the National Park Service; Knox Mellon, California's state historic preservation officer; and movie star Ginger Rogers. Arthur Littleworth, president of the Mission Inn Foundation and manager of the hotel, spoke for many when he said, "The road to preservation is a long one [but] everything like this is a step toward restoration."² The glow of both events still lingers in memory, fondly recalled at the Inn and in Riverside some thirty years later.

For all those rejoicing at that October event, and for others learning of the honor, the National Historic Landmark imprimatur, recorded on a bronze plaque, appropriately endorsed what they had long known of the Inn's distinctive architecture and its intimate ties to local business, culture and the past. Many also knew about distinguished visitors to the Inn, including presidents of the United States and leaders in commerce, literature, and the arts. Landmark recognition, they thought, was long overdue, and to them its coming brought an added ray of hope amid what looked like an uncertain future for the decaying hotel.³ But local sentiment, no matter how potent, does not itself assure federal designation as a landmark.

National Historic Landmark status was and continues to be relatively rare: there were fewer than twenty-five hundred such landmarks across the U.S. in 2007, though many more have been nominated over the years since the program was defined in 1966. By being named a National Historic Landmark, the Inn joined an elite company that includes Mount Vernon, Monticello, the Empire State Building, and, in California, the Hearst San Simeon Estate, several Franciscan missions, and San Diego's resort Hotel del Coronado. The May 1977 announcement made only six national designations from some ninety nominees considered that year, adding the Inn at the time to the seventy-seven other landmarks of any category existing in California.⁴

The 1966 legislation creating the National Historic Landmark (NHL) Program placed it in the jurisdiction of the National Park Service but provided no specific guidelines or criteria upon which approval or rejection of a nomination might be based. Rather, those preparing submissions, whether local, state, or nationally based, invoked their professional expertise as archaeologists, historians, anthropologists, art historians, or architectural historians, taking guidance from professional experience, the Historic Sites Act of 1935, and the National Preservation Act of 1966. Both of these acts affirmed a national interest in federally supported historic preservation.⁵ Specific criteria, still in force, emerged in the 1980 and later amendments to the 1966 legislation.⁶

In 1977, however, the professional preparing the submission for Mission Inn, Carolyn Pitts, a long-term employee of the National Parks Service and herself an architectural historian, briefly identified the physical details of the property, accompanied by narrative required for the nomination form to "[d]escribe the present and original (if known) physical appearance" followed by a "[s]tatement of significance." Doing so assured that the contents met the expectations of the National Historic Landmarks Program.⁷

These two narrative sections identified Mission Inn as the largest Mission Revival building in California and referred briefly to its history and gathering of artifacts, in particular the eighteenth-century Rayas "altar" (more correctly an altarpiece, retablo, or reredos) from Mexico, and Tiffany windows in the St. Francis Chapel. Several locations within the hotel were named: the Rotunda, Galeria, the domed bridal suite, the "Flier's Wall of Fame," and the Sixth Street Annex, all identified as distinctive and significant.



Illustrative of the Inn's distinct architecture, the 7th Street arches provided a memorable welcome for visitors (circa 1910–1920).
All photos courtesy of the collection of the Mission Inn Foundation and Museum, Riverside, CA.

Nationally distinguished hotel guests named in the nomination were presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, McKinley, and Hoover, as well as Andrew Carnegie, Elbert Hubbard, Henry Ford, and Carrie Jacobs Bond, composer of "A Perfect Day." Reference was also made to the authors and artists entertained, though not by name; to the citrus culture of the region; and to the annual Easter Sunrise Service initiated in the community by "the flamboyant Master of the Inn."⁸

The nomination was dated February 2, 1977, acted on affirmatively in May, and celebrated in October. The festivities acknowledged the distinction signified by federal recognition. They also confirmed something long and widely believed locally about a then sadly deteriorating Inn. That something is the focus of this essay, which explores the many ways in which the Mission Inn qualified as a National Historic Landmark. The federal and professional evaluation based on NHL program expectations was crucial, of course, and indeed determinative as an official imprimatur. The perspective here, however, looks behind that to focus on Mission Inn characteristics of form and content, the hotel program for guests, and the Inn's importance to the wider community. These, from the first years, combined to allow early, repeated local and widespread imputation of landmark status, perspectives confirmed in the 1977 NHL designation.

Interestingly, the Riverside Mission Inn clearly meets the NHL's more precise present-day criteria for landmark designation, which bear stating here for reference later:

The quality of national significance is ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archaeology, engineering and culture and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association and: (1) that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from an understanding of which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained; or (2) that are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States; or (3) that represent some great idea or ideal of the American people; or (4) that embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or (5) that are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by rea-

son of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or (6) that have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites as those which have yielded, or that may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree.”⁹

Two questions frame what follows about the beginning of landmark status for the historic Mission Inn in Riverside, California. The first: what changed, architecturally, socially, and culturally at the Inn itself and for its community of guests and local residents with each physical expansion between the opening of the New Glenwood in February 1903 and the completion of the Rotunda Wing in 1932? And second: how did each of these changes contribute to the Mission Inn’s landmark significance?

The Inn’s construction stretched over almost three decades, from 1903 until 1931, replacing in the process a congeries of earlier buildings known together as The Glenwood, or the Glenwood Cottages. The original twelve-room Miller home, the Old Adobe, as it was called, survived in place though modified periodically until 1947. These all had occupied part of a two-and-a-half-acre city block in Riverside bounded by Main, Sixth, Orange and Seventh streets, now Mission Inn Avenue. The first new construction, called the New Glenwood, was opened in celebratory fashion in 1903. There followed the Cloister Wing on Orange Street, occupied in 1910. Next came the Spanish Wing on Sixth Street, constructed between 1913 and 1928, and last of all the Rotunda Wing, completed in 1931, filling in the corner of Sixth Street and Main Street.¹⁰

And even though hotel owner Frank A. Miller (1857–1935) lightly explained this irregular progression as a lack of money to do it otherwise—“I guess the main reason was I lacked fifteen cents of having enough to build it any other way”¹¹—there appear to be deeper explanations that can illuminate the succession of additions, each affirming something of landmark proportions.

THE NEW GLENWOOD

The Miller family’s 1876 adobe home of a dozen rooms had early served as a boarding house.¹² Frank Miller bought the business from his father in 1880, married within months, and promptly began making changes. But



Aerial view of the Mission Inn, circa 1930,
showing the rectangular "C" layout of the buildings.

neither the Old Adobe nor the additions over the next ten years offered much at all in design or construction to attract or hold the eye. Tourists came to Riverside largely to escape cold eastern winters, to enjoy the sunshine, and to see the expansive citrus orchards, a phenomenon of irrigation and investment. The considerable competitive edge Miller achieved among Riverside's hotels catering to these visitors and to local travelers, came from genuinely warm family hospitality and a celebrated table. These attracted and retained loyalty and praise from distinguished patrons including David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University; John D. Rockefeller Sr., who came in 1884 and again in 1903; and William (later president) and Mrs. McKinley, among others.¹³ When Henry E. Huntington assured Miller of financing for a new hotel in 1902, Arthur B. Benton (1858–1927), an influential Los Angeles architect, prepared the plans for the new building and for the removal of most of the older structures.¹⁴

Benton's choice of Mission Revival architecture assured the New Glenwood Hotel of widely acknowledged significance as a local landmark from its opening in 1903. Other Riverside hotels all resembled a thousand others built of board or brick, with no regional reference, found across the country in all but the largest cities and beside a thousand railroad depots. The new hotel wasn't the first public building in Mission Revival style architecture in town; that distinction belonged to the Sherman Institute, a school for Indians, completed by local builders Wilcox and Rose in June 1901.¹⁵ The 1901 First Church of Christ Scientist, just a block away from the Mission Inn and also designed by Arthur B. Benton, was completed the same year. But the adoption of Mission Revival architecture for the New Glenwood, its placement in the middle of a two-and-a-half-acre block central to the town, and its arrangement around a garden court—another reference to California's Spanish past—distinguished it from other buildings in Riverside.

Mission Revival style had been launched nationally in 1893 in the California State building at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. By the time he was ready to build, Frank A. Miller was heralding far and wide the virtues of his chosen style: "the brains and the money of our land have decided that this is *the* style of architecture for this section." And again, "Those who absolutely know what is good form say [using this style] is what we should do."¹⁶

What did this style look like at the New Glenwood? Observers on Seventh Street saw a long, three-story central building, placed almost centrally and extending the full length of the block, a hundred yards between Main and Orange streets. Since the building footprint resembled a rectangular "C," the main entrance was placed slightly right of center. On either side two broad residential wings, each with an interior central hallway, extended like two arms to the Seventh Street sidewalks. The plastered outer walls impressed visitors with their plainness and simplicity, reminiscent of the Spanish missions of Old California. Tiled roofs topped the façades; the many windows, large and small, were multi-paned. Balconies hid behind black iron railings, and three or more bells hung within the characteristic mission arches, curving upward from their lower shoulders to a high central curve, fronting each residential wing.

Guests arriving by carriage or stagecoach rode into a curving driveway off Seventh Street, passed under shade trees and a bell-laden arch,

the Campanario, catching sight on alighting of the main entry doors below another higher belled arch, with an even taller rectangular chime tower beyond. The double entry doors gave onto a lobby—unusual in a hotel because of the low ceiling, heavy, dark-stained beams, and hefty, square supporting pillars—a carpeted haven of quiet with the reception desk just a few steps beyond comfortable mission chairs.

Elsewhere in Riverside and across the country, most guests entered hotels across a boardwalk, stepped directly into a high-ceilinged lobby that strove for the grandness of big-city hotels, often a cavernous room where the guest, walking on sanded boards or linoleum, approached the desk.

The New Glenwood interior was in “a not pretentious but homelike style,” said the owner in writing to a friend.¹⁷ In the dimly lit lobby a large, cozy fireplace and mission chairs offered an enclosing haven, an opportunity for peace and rest intended by Miller and his creative architect, Benton. It was an actual and a symbolic retreat from personal tensions in what many saw as the hustling, threatening commercial and industrial world.¹⁸ Floors were carpeted even in what were called the “poorer rooms.”¹⁹ Mission-style furniture in light, fumed oak and window cushions of brown and green burlap echoed presumed mission feelings; the house colors were green and yellow.²⁰ Even the least expensive rooms appear in photographs to be spacious, open to sunshine and fresh air. Guest rooms received fresh flowers and baskets of fruit, especially citrus. Bells in the tower rang out an evensong, and citrus trees in their multitudes were in view from almost every window.²¹

Decorations evocative of Mission style were interspersed in public and private rooms among Asian objects, a popular enthusiasm of the times, and catered to by the furniture warehouses that supplied the hotel. Asian-artifact dealers, particularly the F. Sui One Company in Los Angeles and Pasadena, were scattered up and down the West Coast.²² The Chicago World's Fair of 1893 reinforced the Asian and especially Japanese images in the minds of millions. The Miller family had spent a week at the fair. Equally formative for Frank Miller were his own personal regard for local Asians and, since the 1880s, the influence of David Starr Jordan and of Wilson Crewdson, an English connoisseur of Japanese prints. Both were early and recurring visitors in Riverside, strong advocates of U.S.–Japanese friendship and cultural exchange, and informed advisers on taste in the gathering of Asian objects.

In 1903, the Asian aesthetic was only one of the popular decorative styles consistent with the Mission Revival mode.²³ Beyond question, pervasive influences in art and architecture from distinguished Impressionist painters, the Art Nouveau movement, and Frank Lloyd Wright, himself a life-long enthusiast of Japanese architecture, were also *au courant*. A more local expression of these trends in architecture was to be found in the work of Greene and Greene of Pasadena. Evidence in the hotel of a devotion to things Asian would grow in complexity toward a full flowering, neither sudden nor superficial, in the last phase of the hotel's construction.

Within this mix of current decorative influences, Miller and Benton embraced the Mission Revival idiom, not from a wish to duplicate the Franciscan missions of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but to evoke the spirit of the Spanish heritage of California in a mode expressive of early twentieth-century maturity. From Benton's creative mind plans emerged for a friendly, welcoming structure supportive of the Miller hospitality. The new hotel was intended to exude the quietness, rest, and hospitality popularly associated with the old Spanish missions. Altogether, it truly embodied, as the NHL standard required, the "distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of [its] period."

These intentions were realized fully, as David Starr Jordan affirmed:

It is has been left to you Frank Miller, a genuine Californian, to dream of the hotel that ought to be. To turn your ideal into plaster and stone and build us in mountain-belted Riverside the one hotel which a Californian can recognize as his own. I congratulate you on your success not as a hotel proprietor but as a poet and an artist, as one who has done well for California and is deserving of California's gratitude. For no one can leave the hospitable Glenwood without a resolve to come back again to the region where such things are possible, to the region where in time all things noble are possible.²⁴

Endorsements like Jordan's multiplied over the years. A guest in 1907 framed his appraisal of the place in the title of his booklet about the Inn: *Days of Peace and Rest, by Those Who Know*.²⁵ Another, Frank Pollock, railroader and businessman, praised the New Glenwood as "a spot without seeing which no self-respecting tourist can look himself in the face."²⁶

Buildings that break with the narratives of their genus can become candidates for landmark status. Certainly the design and decoration of

the New Glenwood abandoned the clichés of other Riverside and most California hostelrys and thereby became by definition a recognized landmark. In that and other ways the hotel initiated a definition for Riverside, allowing the still familiar quip, as inadequate as are most aphorisms: "People didn't come to Riverside, they came to Mission Inn." In a 1985 summary the genial California state historian Kevin Starr concluded that in the Mission Inn the Mission Revival style had been pushed about as far as it would go, and in the process put both Miller and Riverside on the map.²⁷

Miller himself wrote reflectively to a friend the day after his big opening banquet for the hotel on April 18, 1903. He had followed the local newspaper reports closely. Completion, at least enough for occupancy, had all but relieved him of the agonies of delay and cost overruns, of slovenly workmen and the need to have work done over. Weighing the whole he found that satisfactions tipped the balance:

In thinking the situation over today as I sit in my room writing . . . [I] believe the venture is going to be a great success. Certainly the architectural effects are worth all we paid for them, everyone is delighted with the simplicity and genuine appearance of the Mission style. Mr. Ripley, of the Santa Fe [railroad] said, "Miller, you have certainly worked out the most complete and artistic Mission effects of any of the hotel men."²⁸

At that date the Inn was the only hotel in Riverside to have done so.

THE CLOISTER WING

Early in 1910 the Cloister Wing, though still incomplete, was opened as the first major addition to what was by then known as the Mission Inn. This wing of the hotel, with the monastic associations of its name and appearance, brought significant changes to the definition of the Inn and also launched new activities that embraced guests and local residents. In these ways it became a marker "associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent" the region's history.

The addition, extending from the original Mission Wing along the whole of the Orange Street block, comprised a large public music room, guest rooms above, and a roof garden area used at first for recreation, later to accommodate a luxurious suite, The Alhambra. Excavations soon

extended the areas below sidewalk level, accommodating a dining room known as the Refectorio and the Cloister Walk (now referred to as the Catacombs), an ambulatory with niches for the display of artifacts, frequently religious. Outside, and along the length of Orange Street, structurally unnecessary flying buttresses added to the monastic appearance, prompting occasional newspaper reference to "the Monastery" addition.

The principal public room in the new wing, the Music Room, over a hundred feet long, contained the St. Cecilia Chapel (since moved), the 2,500-pipe Kilgen organ, and the stained-glass triptych memorializing Miller's first wife, Isabella Hardenberg Miller, who had died in 1908, as Saint Cecilia among Franciscans and Poor Clares. Few could enter this spacious room, modeled after a Spanish baronial hall, without noticing the religious motifs embodied in a pipe organ, religious banners, and stained glass; none would have been surprised to know that weddings, even a funeral, were conducted there.²⁹

Many hotels, though none in Riverside at the time, provided musical performances in quiet parlors of this kind. But in the Music Room the extent and variety of distinctive religious decoration, symbolism, and programs of religious music redefined hotel entertainment. These programs in their chapel-like setting continued for many years, with some modifications, until at least World War II.

The frequent religious services, held daily for many years, were called "song services," a familiar part of Protestant worship. Such gospel hymn singing began in the hotel lobby several years before the Music Room opened, but what was launched in 1910 was more extensive and formal. The services lasted about an hour, open to guests and local residents. All remained seated while the Inn soloist performed, usually a religious song; they heard an uplifting reading and together sang religious, patriotic, or folk songs from the Inn publication, *Songs of the Glenwood Mission Inn*,³⁰ musically led by the soloist, the pipe organ, and a harp. A clearly visible sign reading, "Please Do Not Applaud" further confirmed the religious nature of the gathering and, by implication, of the Music Room itself, even the wing called, as it was, the "Cloister Wing."

These song services were not treated as performances or entertainments. More formal concerts and recitals of various kinds were, however, presented from the three-level stages of the Music Room, and for many

years on Tuesday evenings guests and community friends glided over the parquet floor, dancing to music from the three- or four-piece Inn orchestra. The song services, on the other hand, were religious assemblies, Protestant as much as anything, and often presided over by the distinguished-appearing Miller son-in-law, DeWitt Hutchings (1879–1953), himself briefly an aspiring cleric.³¹

Elbert Hubbard (1856–1915), a nationally known skeptic of religion and religious ceremony, lectured in Riverside's Loring Opera House in 1909. Later in the year he shared his impressions with the thousands of readers of his publication *The Fra*: "The most recent addition [at the Mission Inn] is a Chapel quaint and curious, where every morning a simple service of song and praise is heard. Even the Philistines [subscribers in their thousands to his other magazine by that name] enjoy this."³²

Seasonal religious dramas were also staged in the Music Room, most notably the Inn's production of an annual Nativity pageant, popular enough some years to require two performances—the first for hotel staff and guests, and another the following day for the community. Easter sunrise observance, though celebrated a mile away on nearby Mount Rubidoux, first in 1909, had its inception with Jacob Riis (1849–1914) and Miller at the Mission Inn. This hilltop dawn event continued long after any connection with Riis, Miller, or the Mission Inn had been forgotten.

Even the 1917 Mission Inn float in the Pasadena Rose Parade offered specific religious motifs. Spectators might have expected a Riverside entry flaunting its considerable fame and fortune garnered from irrigation and citrus. What viewers saw, however, driving slowly by, were three Franciscan friars (Miller's son-in-law, the Inn organist and the long-serving hotel doorman) with other costumed figures surrounding a florally decorated model of the Inn, an ensemble impressive enough to receive the judge's silver trophy.³³ This public face paraded an unmistakably religious identity (however mixed the Catholic mission references and the Protestant song services) of the Inn to the thousands viewing the parade.

What had been launched at the hotel with the Cloister Wing, through its name, the symbolism, and ceremony, was an explicit religious definition for Riverside's defining hotel, a hostelry already admired widely for its architectural presence, its hospitality, the superb table, and the courteous discipline of its staff. With the Cloister Wing's explicitly religious design, decoration, and deeds, the wing also artfully extended



Interior of the Music Room, the principal public room of the Cloister Wing, the first major addition to the Mission Inn (circa 1915).

the romanticized concept of the Spanish and early Californian ethos then popular among Californians and tourists alike. Thus, the Mission Inn had become a significant artifact of an emergent California culture. Landmark features indeed.

A visiting journalist echoed what many may have thought when he wrote, "What is it that we have come to? Is this a house of worship? Yes. Is it an art gallery? An antiquary [sic] shop? A museum? Is it a hotel? Yes, all of these and more."³⁴ Not without significance were his only direct answers to his own questions, both affirmative, to the questions about a "house of worship" and a "hotel."

The Asian decorative motif had grown, in the decade since 1902, to include Japanese lanterns, a stairway landing in the Japanese style, a Buddhist shrine, a large Chinese gong, and a variety of Asian objects for sale in the curio shop adjoining the Music Room.³⁵ That growth hinted at Miller's developing personal enthusiasms but also reflected a continuing popular interest in the Orient.

The religious emphasis formalized in symbol and service attracted community members and guests. For their part, Inn guests began to applaud in letters of appreciation more than the usual thanks for hospitality and restfulness. They delighted in the Music Room's religious services set among Spanish and Roman Catholic decorations, in the opportunities provided to sing favorite hymns, to hear devotional music, and to listen to a reader's resonant tones in readings and scripture.

THE SPANISH WING

The Spanish Wing emerged piecemeal between 1913 and 1928. It comprised the ground-level Spanish Art Gallery, new guest rooms above it, and, if viewed from the interior courtyard restaurant, a topmost tier of guest rooms added in 1928 as the Rooms of the Authors. These rooms opened off a balcony fronted by a parade of buttressed columns with towering finials—the fixtures above each balcony column—bleached against the terra cotta brick walls. At one end the new wing made a complex conjunction with the Cloister Wing, at the corner of Orange and Sixth streets. The other end extended along Sixth Street toward Main Street but not to the corner. The Rotunda Wing would later fill that space, built onto the Spanish Wing in the process.

The admitted impulse to this construction came in large part from Miller's awareness that Spanish nobility included art galleries in their mansions, something he observed on a visit to Spain. He confessed to Archer Huntington, heir of railroad mogul Collis P. Huntington and founder and financial pillar of the Spanish Art Society of New York, that his Music Room in the Cloister Wing was "a mistake as far as it being regarded as a Spanish thing. Everybody who has anything in Spain has an art gallery or some effort of that kind," said Miller, "I want your help." Huntington obliged with an abundance of measurements and other information.

Even twenty years later Miller still felt the anguish of his Music Room inadequacy, recalling that he had failed to evoke the Spanish spirit and that in doing so he gave no evidence of "having anything." He had missed his mark in the Music Room, in spite of any success realized there or elsewhere, and that lapse spurred him to make amends in a new Spanish Wing, compensation for the earlier failure.³⁶

When completed, the Spanish Art Gallery satisfied the Spanish feeling through appearance and by providing a home for much of a growing collection of paintings, many with religious themes, and a site for temporary exhibits. The 1920 installation in the Spanish Art Gallery of a spectacular eighteenth-century Baroque Spanish altarpiece from Guanajuato, Mexico, might have been the final atonement for the earlier omission. This gilded and polychrome masterpiece of saints gathered around the Holy Family, lacking only the Virgin, adorned the gallery for twelve years before becoming the focal point of the St. Francis Chapel. Its installation in the Spanish Art Gallery high overhead behind a narrow balcony perhaps added to the Spanish emphasis an aura of mystery and remoteness.

This decidedly religious acquisition reinforced the earlier religious emphasis of the Cloister Wing. The Rooms of the Authors in the Spanish Wing added something more, namely evidence of a growing presence of writers and painters at the Inn. The Miller family, especially Frank's sister Alice Richardson, the hotel's manager, offered abundant hospitality to writers and fine artists, particularly painters. The Rooms of the Authors and the Spanish Art Gallery tangibly affirmed the presence and the productions of these creative artists while also offering opportunities for guests and local residents to enjoy exhibitions and lectures.

Among the authors who came to the Inn was Carrie Jacobs Bond, known best for her song "A Perfect Day" (1910). Harold Bell Wright (1872–1944), author of *Shepherd of the Hills* (1907), came in 1919 and in three months at the Inn wrote his *Recreation of Brian Kent*. Owen Wister (1860–1938) visited; his book *The Virginian* (1902) gave rise to the whole genre of western novels. The authors expressed the pleasure of their visits with warm correspondence. Wright claimed the Inn provided an atmosphere for him better than any other he knew. Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), India's notable literary and philosophic oracle, inspired by the Inn's charm, effused over Riverside's poetic beauty in verse.³⁷ Other literary notables included Charles Fletcher Lummis (1859–1928) and



Author's Row (1920s), part of the Spanish Wing addition,
hosted a number of well-known authors.

Pulitzer Prize winner Zona Gale (1874–1938), who first visited in 1903. Hamlin Garland (1860–1940), Edwin Markham (1852–1940), John Steven McGroarty (1862–1944), and Edna Ferber (1885–1968) all came; most wrote during their stays and on leaving penned their regrets. Jacob Riis (1849–1914), a journalist best known for *How the Other Half Lives* (1901) and his autobiography, *The Making of an American* (1901; 1912), wrote following an early visit, “You good people certainly make it extremely hard for a man to get away from ‘the happy valley.’” He repeated this after later visits, thereby saying something echoed by many other writ-

ers and artists. Interestingly enough, although the gathering of paintings grew, the Inn had no large collection of books, whether those written by its author guests, or others.³⁸

Painter guests and visitors at the Inn included several California *plein aire* artists such as William Wendt (1838–1911), known to Miller from his frequent vacations in Laguna Beach and from Miller's advisory board membership at the Laguna Art Association;³⁹ Chris Jorgensen (1860–1935), a long-time painter of Yosemite scenes; and Armenian American artist Hovsep Pushman (1877–1966). These artists stayed, painted, and added to their own renown and that of the hospitable Inn.

The gallery of named rooms that became the Rooms of the Authors pronounced an elite cultural status for the hotel, one that drew in like-minded local people devoted to literature and art and signaled hospitality to other creative artists. Certainly the Spanish Art Gallery redressed the earlier omission in the Cloister Wing and in doing so added a cultural dimension in painting and writing to the definition of the landmark hotel. The Riverside Spanish Art Society of 1916 gave wide-reaching focus to exhibitions and sociability and generated income for the gallery.⁴⁰

Other hotels displayed photographs of distinguished patrons, even named rooms for famous guests, but none of record had a whole tier of rooms for authors and certainly not in the 1920s. Similarly, there were hotels exhibiting artworks as the Mission Inn had done in the Old Adobe and later did in the Spanish Art Gallery. But relationships with artists at the Inn appeared to involve a personal hospitality and public involvement different enough in kind and degree to redefine the hotel, already a place of local and wider distinction in a town lacking a fine-arts gallery of its own or a literary focus.

In sum, the landmark definition added by the Spanish Wing arose from the inclusion of formal indicators of art patronage—the authors' rooms, an exhibition gallery, and the Spanish Art Society—new and different for the Inn and for the community, with particular appeal to high culture and elite society. This explicit affiliation of the hotel with the works of art and literature would later meet the NHL criterion that a site be “associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant” to qualify for landmark status. The association was visible not only in the form of the Rooms of the Authors but also in the reported arrival and departure of the authors. The Inn was not their only identity, but all

found particular welcome and honor at the Mission Inn. Some fortunate few had their names above the doors of Rooms of the Authors, a provision unique to this hostelry.

THE ROTUNDA WING

Just over two years passed between the completion of Rooms of the Authors, topmost on the Spanish Wing, and the beginning of construction of the Rotunda Wing, which was ready for use by the end of 1931. This new wing of the hotel contained several elements, each different from the others in appearance and intended use. The "Rotunda Internacional" section was six floors of office suites arranged around a central spiraling staircase open to the sky. The St. Francis Chapel, with its Atrio and small St. Joseph's Arcade, was intended for weddings. The Galeria beside the chapel provided a public meeting space. The Court of the Orient and its contiguous Ho O Kan room were public and exhibition spaces. Guest rooms around the rooftop Garden in the Sky and street-level retail and office space were more familiar hotel components. The elements of the new wing were all, except the office, retail, and guest spaces, significantly new to the hotel in form, function, and symbolic message. This new construction filled in the corner of Sixth and Main streets, thus completing the Inn's occupancy of the entire city block.

Architectural ingenuity and perhaps necessity of design throughout the whole interior space in this wing allowed interesting alternative entrances that invited access by circuitous or direct routes from unexpected places. Hotels construct such hidden routes to allow inconspicuous service, and perhaps that was their justification in the Rotunda Wing where the principal areas were all interconnected. A passage from the chapel, for example, gave access through the sacristy to the Rotunda and the Galeria; the Ho O Kan opened into the Rotunda and formerly into the chapel. Some of the doors are smaller than usual and some passages narrower; decorative touches partially disguised others; most were surprises of utility, some even whimsical.

Equally unexpected were the sudden stylistic transitions between contiguous areas: one or two steps, for example, took guest or visitor from a diminutive Italianate court called the Atrio, into the St. Francis Chapel where Mexican Baroque brilliance obliterated any impressions of the

Atrio. Similarly, a dozen steps through the Hall of the Gods, a passageway crowded with Asian representations, eased somewhat the abruptness of a change of style from Spanish to Asian. Many visitors still gasp with surprise on entering the Court of the Orient with its unmistakably Asian-inspired architecture of tiled roofs supported on brackets, high blank walls, a tower topped by a castle-like lookout, floor-mounted stone lanterns, and a small fishpond.

Such abrupt transitions into strikingly different, boldly defined enclosures seem to have elicited neither comment nor complaint. Perhaps visitors went directly about their interests—weddings in the chapel, banquets in the Galeria, meetings in the Ho O Kan, or business in one or another of the Rotunda offices. Tour guests followed comprehensive routes, however, so the expectation of variety may have made these sudden transitions—Spanish to Italianate to Mexican Baroque, to Asian, to the Rotunda's curvilinear spaces—a pleasure. These areas of the hotel still convey something special to visitors, many of whom long recall the scintillating chapel, the unexpectedness of Asian areas, and the spiraling interior of the Rotunda itself.

Two unique innovations in this final addition to the Inn were, first, the clustering of at least four distinct styles of building and decoration, and second, the blending in these spaces of utilitarian and symbolic intentions. The cluster of styles included the unfinished concrete, cylindrical Rotunda Internacional with its six-story, open-air spiral staircase decorated with wrought iron railings. Separated from this by only a door, the Court of the Orient conveyed immediately its Asian inspiration in roof tiles, supporting brackets, and wall treatments, while the adjoining Ho O Kan room, equally Asian in form, was lavishly filled with artifacts from China and Japan. Adjoining these two areas, the St. Francis Chapel spoke clearly of the unrestrained interpretation of Spanish Baroque developed in colonial Mexico—a language of spiral and *estipite* columns, an elaborate Churrigueresque façade, and the spectacularly carved and gilded interior with seven Tiffany windows. No other part of the Inn displayed such diversity.

Aspects of utility also abounded in the Rotunda addition. Rentable office space in the six floors of the Rotunda assured income for the hotel and service to the business community. The up-scale guest rooms on the roof extended guest accommodation and augmented hotel income. These



Authors' Row became a symbol of an elite cultural emphasis at the Mission Inn, and served as a sign of hospitality to other creative artists.

included the Anne Cameron Suite under the Amistad Dome and others around the open roof-top court called the Garden in the Sky, offering guest activities beyond those available elsewhere—sequestered places for relaxation, sunbathing, lounging, elegant leisure, or other semi-private indulgence. Street level shops, offices, and meeting rooms, including the Galeria as a meeting and banquet room, generated income and provided convenience to social, business, and professional organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce and service clubs. The St. Francis Chapel effectively attracted weddings, garnering hotel income from a hugely aesthetic setting. Whatever the appeal of special architecture of the Court of the Orient and the Ho O Kan, the space was rentable and suited to meetings and also provided sales and exhibit space for the continually growing accumulation of Asian objects. But none of these places was simply utilitarian. Each by intention and immediate appearance offered symbolic statements, augmenting what already existed elsewhere at the Inn, and adding a cluster of meanings not found elsewhere.

Scores of other hotels coordinated wedding ceremonies and catered reception banquets. None had a wedding chapel so richly embellished with religious text and symbolism as the St. Francis Chapel. There, bridal parties and guests sat in medieval choir stalls and looked up at a gilded eighteenth-century Spanish retablo reaching from specious altar to ceiling, saw carved, life-size facial profile medallions of twenty-six saints, paintings of St. Francis of Assisi along the walls, seven Tiffany windows celebrating the sacred and secular and a façade in angular, estipite columns enclosing a medieval double door of grandiose proportions. Indeed, few churches equaled the St. Francis Chapel in religious iconography.

In like manner, the symbolism of the Rotunda combined tokens of internationalism, peace, and echoes of California mission-era history. This was an office building embellished with religious iconography. G. Stanley Wilson (1879–1958) was the architect of this wing. Miller's thoughtful planning of the wing had followed frequent and prolonged contemplation of a painting in the Spanish Art Gallery depicting a monastic courtyard interior with a spiral staircase, monks pursuing their assigned tasks, all painted in somber tones. Miller had told his architect, "I want this picture embodied in steel and concrete. I want the romance, the charm of that painting put into a modern office building."⁴¹ It was to be, he had said, a realization in concrete of goodwill and the monastic spirit

especially expressed toward Mexico and, however broad the conceptual leap, toward Japan and the Orient generally. In the Rotunda, decorative wrought iron encoded Franciscan mission names and the initials of their founding padres. Ceramic international escutcheons affirmed worldwide interests; among them, Andrew Carnegie's escutcheon reminded visitors of his generosity to the local library and his support of international peace.⁴²

A similar combination of use and symbol suffused the Court of the Orient through its Asian-inspired architecture and the adjoining Ho O Kan, a room emphatically Japanese in appearance and decoration. In form, decoration, and use the court and the Ho O Kan endorsed esteem for the local Japanese community and for Japan and testified to a yearning, not widely shared, for better U.S.-Japan relations. The Asian artifacts and design went far beyond decoration, affirming long-held values Miller had expressed, sometimes in the face of local antipathy, in his attempts to engage a wider internationalism and cultural appreciation.⁴³

This Asian emphasis was neither sudden in appearance nor superficially decorative in intention. What had begun perhaps with Asian vases and jars in the parlor of the original Old Adobe in the 1880s, itself a response to popular decorating enthusiasms, grew with the acquisition of artifacts for the guest rooms and the curio shop. In 1893 the Miller family had spent a full week at the Chicago World's Fair where they admired the Japanese pavilion and saw, and perhaps spoke its name, Ho O Den. By 1914 a huge Nanking temple bell, over six feet high, stood in the entry courtyard of the hotel, a favorite photograph spot. In 1925 Miller had traveled to Japan where he and his family were generously received. In 1929 the Japanese emperor, Hirohito, authorized the award to Miller of the Fourth Degree of Merit of the Order of the Rising Sun.⁴⁴

By 1931 Miller owned a large carved wood transom panel depicting two confronted mythical birds called Ho O, a probable influence on the choice of name for the interior space of the Court of the Orient. About the Court of the Orient and its adjoining Ho O Kan were a meditating Buddha towering peacefully six or more feet high, a spectacular Japanese sculpture of a water-spouting dragon of almost equal height, numerous reverse-painted lighting fixtures, and several carved wood transom panels, one gilded and close to twenty feet long and seven feet in width. All of this testified through deed and decoration to an evolved interest in



The St. Francis Chapel, with its distinct Mexican Baroque style, is one of the unexpected architectural shifts in the Rotunda Wing .



Perhaps an even more distinct stylistic change in the Rotunda Wing is the Court of the Orient, featuring a meditating Buddha, standing six or more feet high, and a Japanese water-spouting dragon.

things Asian and hopes for improved relations between the U.S. and Japan.⁴⁵ Although they expressed Miller's personal predilections, these elements were viewed by countless visitors so that they stand as a record of the inter-war internationalist and peace movements and thus "outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history [from] which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained," as the NHL standards call for.

Overall, the Rotunda Wing concentrated utility and imagery on the one hand and, on the other, a gathering of innovative architectural forms that conveyed economic, internationalist, pacifist, and religious ideas. The wing, which was to be the final construction at the Mission Inn, elicited a 1931 newspaper accolade for "this imaginative project extraordinarily well realized."⁴⁶ Visiting architectural writer M. Urmy Sears, commenting on the successful combination of use and ideals, concluded that the Inn was not merely a local thing or a personal indulgence:

The location of the marriage chapel between the Galeria and the Oriental Hall is again symbolic of Mr. Miller's thought of the marriage of art and spirit of East and West at the Mission Inn. Thus again fundamental chords are struck, worldwide in their significance, proclaiming the Inn a truly international institution.⁴⁷

While the Mission Inn's importance nationally and internationally deserved landmark status, the Inn also had deep personal meanings. For architect G. Stanley Wilson this wing of the hotel was the pinnacle of his professional achievement. For Frank A. Miller, who died four years later in 1935, the Rotunda Internacional serves as a visible testament to his tastes and deeply held beliefs.



The official record in Washington DC of May 25, 1977, confirmed Riverside's first National Historic Landmark, an event endorsed jubilantly in the city five months later. Documented in inspection and research by the National Park Service, that recognition gathered up threads of a fabric woven over the course of seventy-four years as each new wing of the hotel introduced not only physical extensions of architectural interest but also added new layers of historical meaning. The Mission Wing of 1903 cemented a new and enduring regional architectural style among hotels and linked the style to the city of Riverside. The Cloister Wing, named in the monastic tradition, housed emphatically religious decoration and the public worship-like song services, among other things. The Spanish Wing sequentially endorsed for the Inn and offered the community an invitation to an art gallery for temporary and permanent displays, an art society, and homage to popular writers, some fortunate enough to have named rooms. The final addition, the Rotunda Wing, presented a mem-

orable, even flamboyant combination of the useful and the symbolic, a summative statement of religious ecumenical, pacifist, and internationalist values expressed in income-generating surroundings housed in three distinctly different architectural idioms.

From the opening in 1903 and with each new addition, the Inn enriched its definition and extended its reach into Riverside's community and far beyond. Many local residents over the years had confidently recognized their landmark hotel for what they had always believed it to be. They, and hundreds of others—some say thousands—coming to the Inn for the first time that October night in 1977, reveled in their landmark heritage and agreed with Arthur Littleworth's expressed hope that landmark recognition would lead to the Inn's preservation and restoration.



At the time of the celebration in October 1977 the deteriorating Mission Inn was owned by the City of Riverside Redevelopment Agency and managed through a non-profit organization, the Mission Inn Foundation. After nearly a decade of indifferent management and piecemeal efforts at restoration, this situation ended when the Carley Capital Group purchased the Inn, closing it for a two-year, thirty-million-dollar restoration in 1985. Unexpected challenges and bankruptcies escalated costs and prolonged the process. In December 1992 the Inn was purchased by a local group, the Historic Mission Inn Corporation, which booked its first fifty rooms by the end of the month and sponsored a series of public and private openings celebrating the restoration of the Inn. After guiding the initial survey that planned and supervised restoration, architect Bruce Judd of the Architectural Resources Group of San Francisco continues to serve as consultant to the hotel owners. Effective management by the corporation has garnered public support and business success.⁴⁸ The hopes expressed in 1977 for the Inn's future have been abundantly fulfilled for all those who celebrated then and who, through the years of turbulence, sustained their affection for Riverside's Mission Inn.

NOTES

¹ This essay is based on a presentation by the author marking the 30th anniversary of National Historic Landmark Status of the Mission Inn, Riverside, California, given at the Inn on April 19, 2007, Riverside Metropolitan Museum and Mission Inn Foundation and Museum, joint sponsors.

- ² *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, October 29, 1977.
- ³ Chronology and physical descriptions of the Inn are from Esther Klotz, *The Mission Inn: its History and Artifacts* (Corona, CA: UBS Group, 1993) and Zona Gale, *Frank Miller of Mission Inn* (New York: Appleton, 1936).
- ⁴ Barry Macintosh, *Historic Site Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program* (Washington DC: National Park Service, Dept. of the Interior, 1985), 41, 45–46, 61–62. <http://www.nps.gov/history/nhl/designations/Lists/CA01.pdf>
- ⁵ 49 Stat. 666, 16 USC Sec. 461–67. 80 Stat. 915 as amended; 16 USC 470.
- ⁶ Personal communication, National Historic Landmarks Reference with the author, October 22, 2007.
- ⁷ <http://www.achp.gov/NHPA.pdf> The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended to its 1977 operative form, affirmed the national importance of historic preservation, designated the secretary of the interior as the director, named the National Historic Landmarks program as such, and directed the secretary to develop (in consultation) guidelines and criteria that would carry out six administrative mandates as to the nomination, designation and removal, appeals process, international aspects, National Register inclusion, and appropriate notification of property owners, local governments, and the public, generally, that a site was under consideration.
For current criteria, see note 9, below.
- ⁸ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, *Mission Inn* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1977). Nine pages of text; six pages of photographs. Form Numbers 10–300.
- ⁹ *Code of Federal Regulations*, Title 36, Volume 1 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 2007), chapter 1, Part 65, Section 65.4, “National Historic Landmark criteria,” 361–62.
- ¹⁰ See Klotz, *Mission Inn*. Progress and completion of each wing was reported in the local papers, *Riverside Press* and *Riverside Enterprise*, and often in the *Los Angeles Times*. Hotel owner Miller put new accommodations to use as soon as possible, sometimes several months prior to full completion of a wing.
- ¹¹ Typescript, “Notes for an autobiography dictated at Laguna Beach, March, 1935.” Mission Inn Foundation Museum Archives.
- ¹² *Frank A. Miller Diary*; November 22, 28, December 9, 1876. Mission Inn Foundation Museum Archives, FB 135, F2000.1898.
- ¹³ See Joan Hall, *Through the Doors of the Mission Inn*, 2 vols. (Riverside, CA: Highgrove Press, 1996; 2000.)
- ¹⁴ Klotz, *Mission Inn*, 10–11.
- ¹⁵ For a discussion of the Sherman Institute and Frank Miller’s role in it, see Nathan Gonzales, “Riverside, Tourism, and the Indian: Frank A. Miller and the Creation of Sherman Institute,” *Southern California Quarterly* 84 (Fall/Winter 2002): 193–222.
- ¹⁶ Frank A. Miller to Riverside (California) County Board of Supervisors, September 10, 1902; Frank A. Miller to E. P. Clarke, September 11, 1902. Riverside Metropolitan Museum Archives, Frank Miller Hutchings Collection, A500-190, Letter Book 1. Correspondence from this source hereafter identified as A500-190.
- ¹⁷ Frank A. Miller to S. Garvetson, October 6, 1902. A500-190.
- ¹⁸ Robert Winter, *Toward a Simpler Way of Life: the Arts and Crafts Architects of California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1997), 9, and in the same volume: Karen Weitz, “Arthur B. Benton,” 191–200.
- ¹⁹ Frank A. Miller to W. & J. Sloane, September 15, 1902. A500-190.
- ²⁰ Frank A. Miller to Norman Pierce, October 27, 1902. A500-190.
- ²¹ John Steven McGroarty, “Touring Topics: Glenwood Mission Inn,” *Sunset Magazine*, December 12, 1912, 13–15.
- ²² Lisa See, *On Gold Mountain* (New York: Vintage, 1995), 92.
- ²³ Maurice Hodgen, *More Than Decoration: Asian Objects at the Mission Inn* (Riverside, CA: Ashburton Press, 2004), 1–9.
- ²⁴ David Starr Jordan to Frank A. Miller, February 14, 1905. A500-190.
- ²⁵ Elbert Hubbard, *Days of Peace and Rest by Those Who Know* (East Aurora, NY: Roycrofters Print Shop, 1907).
- ²⁶ Frank Pollock to Frank A. Miller, May 3, 1906. A500-190.
- ²⁷ Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford, 1986), 86–87.
- ²⁸ Frank A. Miller to Rev. T. C. Hunt, March 18, 1903. A500-190, Letter Book 2.

- ²⁹ DeWitt Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn* (Riverside, CA: Mission Inn, 1942), 19–20.
- ³⁰ Frank A. Miller (compiler) *Songs of the Glenwood Mission Inn* (Riverside, CA: the compiler, 1906; 1910; 1913).
- ³¹ Zona Gale, *Frank Miller*, 56 ff. Untitled paragraph in *Princeton Alumni News*, (Princeton, NJ: Alumni Office, March 6, 1953).
- ³² Elbert Hubbard, "The Mission Inn," *The Fra*, December 1909.
- ³³ *Riverside Press*, January 2, 1917. Louise M. George in *The Californian* 13:7 (January 6, 1917).
- ³⁴ Frances A. Groff, "Friendliness That Dwells in an Inn," Mission Inn Foundation Museum Archives, Zona Gale Collection, 90.16.35.
- ³⁵ *Riverside Press*, August 10, 1902; Francis Borton, *Handbook of the Mission Inn* (Riverside, CA: Mission Inn, 1913), 32; Hodgen, *More Than Decoration*, 2–3; Zona Gale, *Frank Miller*.
- ³⁶ "Notes for an autobiography," 11–12.
- ³⁷ Harold Bell Wright to Alice Richardson, July 7, 1919. Sir Rabindranath Tagore to Frank A. Miller, October 8, 1916. Mission Inn Foundation Museum Archives, Zona Gale Collection, 90.16.90.
- ³⁸ Jacob Riis to Frank A. Miller, January 6, 1905. Hall, *Through the Doors*; Ronald J. Baker, "Literary Persons and Places of Riverside County, California," *California State Library Foundation Bulletin* 29 (October 1989): 15. Baker lists thirteen nationally known authors as guests at Mission Inn.
- ³⁹ *Laguna (California) Life*, July 28, 1921.
- ⁴⁰ *Riverside Enterprise*, July 11, 1916.
- ⁴¹ *Riverside Enterprise*, January 1, 1932.
- ⁴² Klotz, *Mission Inn*, 38–39.
- ⁴³ Hodgen, *More Than Decoration*, 2–9.
- ⁴⁴ Klotz, *Mission Inn*, 64.
- ⁴⁵ Hotel builder Frank A. Miller's devotion to Japan and the local Japanese community is fascinating but not germane to the landmark status of his hotel except in its decorative and architectural expressions.
- ⁴⁶ *Riverside Press*, January 1, 1932. *Riverside (California) Enterprise*, January 1, 1932.
- ⁴⁷ M. Urmy Sears, "California's Mission Inn," *California Art and Architecture*, September 1931, 17–20.
- ⁴⁸ Klotz, *Mission Inn*, 145.

RADICALISM IN THE CRADLE OF THE NEW RIGHT

The University of California's
Irvine Campus in 1960s Orange County

By W. Benjamin Piggot

September 2007 was a month that would bring Orange County's political culture back into the national spotlight several decades after it first entered the national consciousness as ground zero for all things right-wing. When liberal legal scholar Erwin Chemerinsky was hired as the University of California, Irvine, Law School's inaugural dean and then fired by Chancellor Michael V. Drake as a result of conservative political pressure (before being rehired after a much-publicized outcry), political ghosts from Orange County's heyday as an incubator of conservative political culture suddenly came to life in the national media once more. Indeed, what the Chemerinsky affair seemed to suggest was that the county perhaps had not really changed much at all from its 1960s image as the cradle of the New Right, despite a massive influx of immigrants from Latin America and Asia as well as the steady shift of American conservatism's spiritual heartland from the libertarian west of Ronald Reagan and Barry Goldwater to the evangelical southeast of George W. Bush and Newt Gingrich.¹

The following article provides important historical context to the recent controversy surrounding the University of California, Irvine, by

examining campus-community relations during a period of time when the political atmosphere on American college campuses was considerably more charged than it is today. Specifically, it addresses how Orange County's famously conservative political culture reacted to politically provocative speakers on the UC Irvine campus during the late 1960s. In doing so, this article will illuminate the tensions between socio-cultural transformation (as manifested most dramatically in the "counter-culture" and "New Left"), on the one hand, and a rising conservatism based on a declining trust in the promises and institutional foundations of New Deal reform liberalism on the other.

The University of California, Irvine, offers a unique opportunity to observe the process through which such tensions developed. Since the campus was located in what, at the time, was one of the most politically conservative areas of California and the nation, it demonstrates how the challenge of sixties-era radicalism was not simply an abstraction to the "silent majority."² It was not just broadcast on their tv screens from "distant" outposts in New York City, San Francisco, or Berkeley but often played itself out in what Lisa McGirr has described as the "suburban warriors'" own backyards. Founded in 1964, the University of California, Irvine, represented for many local residents an institutional manifestation of California's brand of reform liberalism. The policies of its administration on guest speakers seemed clear evidence of the expansion of the liberal state into Orange County—an attack on the socio-cultural integrity of their community.

In other words, the much studied and analyzed conservative "backlash" against New Deal/Great Society liberalism was not simply a product of a somewhat amorphous, impressionistic connection made between cultural radicalism and liberalism by many citizens.³ In the context of Orange County, at least, the New Deal/Great Society belief in the necessity of the strong state as a source of the public good was significantly undermined by the *explicit* connection the region's citizens could draw between the appearance of a large, new governmental institution and the threat to the public good (as defined by many of Orange County's citizens) this institution seemed to bring. It is true that Orange County was already well known for its conservatism before the Irvine campus came into existence. The area's major newspaper, the *Santa Ana* (later *Orange*

County) *Register*, was famous for its hostility toward any form of government social provision, even public education. Nevertheless, the strong presence of an organized, ideological right wing did not, alone, cause the decline in public trust toward the assumptions of New Deal/Great Society liberalism. However, Orange County's ideological right wing did work to facilitate and abet the growing distrust felt by more moderate and less ideological conservatives in the area toward mid-century liberalism's conflation of an activist state and the public good.

To be sure, the connection between a strong state and the public good was not the sole property of the mid-century liberals who brought a university campus to Orange County. It was a connection deeply rooted in the California political tradition. Indeed, as John Douglass describes in his study of the University of California system, as early as the 1850s a broad swathe of the state's founding elite attached much importance to the public provision of higher education. For Douglass, these nineteenth-century politicians and business leaders shared a "Whig-Republican" view of education's role in society; in other words, they advocated the generous provision of "public institutions, such as the university, to shape America's political, economic, and social experiment."⁴ In this regard, they shared much in common with the ideological vision expressed by the overwhelmingly Republican Civil War Congress, when it passed the revolutionary Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862, which provided federal lands for the creation of large state institutions dedicated to the instruction of "practical" skills (as opposed to the classically oriented curriculums of most existing institutions of higher education, which catered to a narrower, more elite segment of American society and whose primary pedagogical goal was the socialization of "gentlemen").

As the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth, this "Whig-Republican" view was further substantiated and refined by Progressive Era politicians and reformers, a group whose influence was felt particularly strongly in California.⁵ As Spencer Olin describes, California Progressives aimed to "develop an efficient public service that reflected the public good and not the good of special interests . . . (their) belief in efficient and rational approaches . . . was coupled with a desire to use the immense resources of California on the behalf of all and not to exploit them ruthlessly for private gain."⁶ Like their mid-nineteenth-century Whig-Republican ances-

tors, the California Progressives believed that public institutions—perhaps none more so than educational institutions—were vitally important to the continued success of a society that was to be both capitalistic and democratic. Even more so than their Whig-Republican ancestors imagined, higher education was to be inclusive of more than a small elite and geared toward creating the bureaucrats and technicians who would allow the burgeoning industrial and agribusiness economy to function and grow. For Progressive Era Californians, as John Douglass summarizes,

Colleges and universities needed to be more accessible to the masses and more attuned to societal needs; they needed to supply training and research for regional economic development; and they needed to become a more important tool for social and economic mobility. What had been the ideal of a small Whig-Republican elite now resonated with much of California's growing middle class.⁷

The Progressive Era advances—which would see the establishment of a southern branch of the university in Los Angeles, agricultural stations in Davis and Riverside, a teacher's college at Santa Barbara, and a marine biology station in La Jolla—would seem relatively limited compared to the expansion of California higher education that would occur in the post-World War II years, however. As noted already, this expansion was in large measure compelled by necessity, as California's potential and actual student population expanded at unprecedented rates in the years following World War II. But it was also predicated on a historically embedded legacy, a legacy broadened by the liberal reformist vision of New Deal politicians and intellectuals.

In the post-World War II years, nowhere was this New Deal-inspired vision more firmly embraced than in California. As Peter Schrag describes, "no state had ever invested in public services and development as California did in the 1950s and 1960s." These investments included \$10.5 billion in new highways (two-thirds of it funded by state monies); the \$1.75-billion California Water Project (a system of sixteen dams, eighteen pumping stations, nine power generating plants and hundreds of miles of aqueducts, canals, and levees); and, with similar foresight, a massive expansion in higher education.⁸ From Republican Earl Warren's inauguration as governor in 1943 to Democrat Pat Brown's two-term administration (1959–1967), California's political leaders shared, for the most part, an expansive,

optimistic vision of the state's role in creating a fairer, more prosperous society. The government was not an *impediment to* but an important *component of* prosperity. In this regard, these postwar leaders mirrored not only the ideology dominant within the Democratic Party at the national level during these years but also that of both Christian and Social Democratic leaders in Western Europe, all of whom envisioned an ideal society as one founded on a market economy but with significant state intervention as a means of addressing both injustice and the insecurity created by the free market.⁹ As such, one can easily locate California's postwar political order within the context of New Deal/Great Society liberalism as well as within a more localized political culture stretching back through the Progressive Era, all the way to its mid-nineteenth-century "Whig-Republicans"—in that, whatever their differences, all believed in the importance of state activism as a means of advancing the public good.

As a manifestation of this expansive vision, the June 20, 1964, dedication of the site for the new Irvine campus brought out some of the era's most powerful and important figures. Speakers included, not only University of California President Clark Kerr; Governor Pat Brown; and the new Irvine campus chancellor, Daniel Aldrich, but also Lyndon Johnson, president of the United States. Indeed, reviewing the speeches made by Kerr, Brown, and Johnson on that ceremonial occasion in 1964 provides a pretty good vantage point from which to understand the ideological essence of postwar liberalism.

Speaking first, Governor Pat Brown focused his remarks on the importance of public education to California's economy and society. He drew heavily from the ideological tradition John Douglass traces back to mid-nineteenth-century Whig-Republican insistence on practical education and the Progressives' goal of educating experts and technicians for the service-providing progressive state. "Education has made California great," claimed Brown:

Our agriculture—the most modern and productive in the world—depends on expert knowledge and new technology. Our industries—largely based on scientific advances—have come here and have grown here because they could find the highly trained people needed to man them. In the administration of our public affairs we are fortunate indeed in having been able to train men and women of top caliber and to attract them into public life.

Linking his paean to California's educational ideal to Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, Brown then suggested to the president, "[Y]ou have given expression (by way of the Great Society idea) to what we are building here in California through our system of education for all citizens."¹⁰ In making this claim, Brown seamlessly related the California political tradition's faith in accessible, high quality public education with the social democratic vision of Johnson's Great Society.

University President Clark Kerr's remarks reinforced Brown's broader ideological vision. His comments echoed the language of his famous 1963 Godkin Lectures at Harvard (later published as the book *Uses of the University*). While he did not draw the kind of specific political or ideological connections Governor Brown drew, his remarks resembled Brown's in the importance he attached to the university as a part of a complex modern society. "In the years to come, a University of truly monumental proportions will arise here," Kerr intoned. "It will be the focus of a new center of population which will number, by 1980, more than 100,000 persons. This adds new dimensions to the creation of a new campus. It is symbolic of the central role of the University in modern life . . . influencing almost every part of the society it serves."¹¹ Just as he did in the Godkin Lectures, where Kerr compared the university's centrality to the economy of the late twentieth century to that of the railroad in the late nineteenth century,¹² Kerr's speech sketched out in general terms a future vision of Orange County with the new Irvine campus at its institutional and economic heart. In Kerr's view—as in that of New Deal liberals like Brown and Johnson—private enterprise remained vital, but public institutions were to play a central role in guiding the market economy's direction.

To conclude the proceedings, the guest of honor, President Lyndon Johnson (whose trip, ironically enough, marked the first time a serving US president had ever visited Orange County), spoke. The speech was quintessential LBJ, combining soaring Great Society rhetoric with an emphasis on statistical accomplishment reflecting Johnson's years as a master horse-trader in the US Senate. Ever the politician's politician, Johnson began by flattering his hosts: "I have been in California less than 30 hours and I already know why you are number one in the Nation in so many fields." Shifting to outlining his administration's recent accomplishments with regard to education, Johnson promised his audience that



Aerial view of the June 20, 1964, dedication of the site for
the new Irvine campus of the University of California.

*Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives,
UC Irvine Libraries: aso56 album2 photo8.*



Chancellor Daniel Aldrich leads the three keynote speakers to the podium at the June 20, 1964 dedication ceremony: President Lyndon B. Johnson, University of California President Clark Kerr, and Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown. *Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, UC Irvine Libraries: aso56 album2 photo21.*

Education is a national need, and I want to assure that as long as I am President, the education of your children is going to receive top priority by the men who lead your nation! In the last six months I have signed three education bills into law. . . . But that is just the beginning. In the next decade our college population will almost double—and we must provide them with facilities and faculties second to none in the world!

After listing a series of programs and areas into which Johnson envisioned higher education's expansion—in particular, urban extension services—Johnson concluded his speech with a rhetorical flourish, linking construction of the Great Society with the hopes of humankind:

All our hopes for peace depend on the kind of society we can build in the United States. And that in turn rests on our system of education. . . . Ahead of us is the challenge to make our system work in a dangerous and difficult period—to demonstrate to a watching and waiting world that democracy, not communism, represents the way to the future. . . . I have come to California to ask you to throw off your doubts about America. Help us demonstrate to the world that people of compassion and commitment can free their fellow citizens from the bounds of injustice, the prisons of poverty, the chains of ignorance. Help us to open the doors of America's abundance and freedom's promise to every man, whatever his race, region, or religion. Help us to build a strong—and vital—and progressive society.¹³

To an extent, Johnson's remarks are indistinguishable from the florid rhetoric typical of presidential addresses given in the modern era, crafted by teams of skillful wordsmiths the modern executive branch has at its disposal. Still, a closer read does reveal a set of priorities that were central to Lyndon Johnson's vision of a Great Society and to the reformist liberal vision his co-speakers shared with him. As such, they were an appropriate finale to an event—the Irvine campus site dedication—dominated by liberals, celebrating the physical inauguration of an educational vision theorized and designed by liberals. Johnson's fundamental optimism, his belief in the goodness of American society, his faith in the power of government to fix that which needed to be fixed (poverty, racism, ignorance), his conviction that a fairer America was vital to the nation's continued moral credibility as the leader of the free world—together, they perfectly illustrate the liberal creed such as it was in the halcyon days before Vietnam and Black Power weakened its ideological confidence and questioned its sense of moral righteousness.

Retrospectively, the 1964–1965 timeframe during which the Irvine campus' inauguration occurred represented this vision's high point, both nationally and in California. To many observers, Johnson's crushing victory over Barry Goldwater in the 1964 election and the speed and effectiveness with which Johnson pursued his sweeping legislative agenda during the first half of 1965 seemed to make this clear. In this sense, the appearance in Orange County of such an array of the era's liberal paragons was symbolic, a daring raid into ideologically hostile territory before a forced retreat—and not just from areas as politically unfriendly as Orange County. After LBJ's effort to lessen Orange County residents' concerns about a university geared to the liberal state, the new campus would ultimately seem to confirm their worst fears.

In Orange County the kind of liberalism personified by Johnson, Kerr, and Brown encountered a much stiffer, coherent ideological challenge than in most other areas of the country. Since its settlement by Euro-Americans in the late nineteenth century, Orange County had proved itself favorable to a conservative political culture. Its economy long dominated by agribusiness, it proved a region particularly hostile to trade unionism as well as most forms of government regulation. Further, many of the Anglo migrants to the region brought with them a strict Protestant moralism, which nurtured cultural traditionalism as well as a belief in the importance of self-help. Indeed, Orange County proved itself fertile ground for such upsurges in conservative political activism as the 1920s version of the Ku Klux Klan.¹⁴ However, it was not until the 1950s that the county began to establish a national reputation for its conservatism. As Lisa McGirr has ably described, postwar Orange County's pre-existing conservative tendencies were reinforced by postwar developments, particularly the context of the Cold War and attendant concerns about communism as well as a frustration amongst conservatives about the seeming hegemony of New Deal-inspired liberal "statism" in American political discourse. In response, conservative libertarians and what McGirr terms "normative conservatives"¹⁵ joined forces. Together, both groups championed a politics that was "virulent[ly] anticommunist, celebrated laissez-faire capitalism, evoked staunch nationalism, and supported the use of the state to uphold law and order."¹⁶

While the burgeoning conservative political culture in postwar Orange County had involved itself in a variety of causes by the early

1960s, particularly intriguing in the current context were a series of scuffles about the nature of public schools that would foreshadow the later conflicts surrounding events at the University of California, Irvine, campus in important ways. The issue of schooling hit home for area conservatives, as the imposition of unwanted liberal ideas violated their sense of their region as a refuge from a national political climate they found troubling. As McGirr describes, for conservatives, schooling "was an arena in which the state threatened to undermine and thwart their beliefs through secularism, a commitment to scientific rationalism, and the liberal values many educators embraced."¹⁷ As with the later controversy surrounding UCI, struggles to control school boards and curriculum contents are particularly interesting for two reasons: one, because they demonstrate that the grassroots right was not necessarily hostile to the state; more to the point, they were hostile to the *particular ends* for which they felt "liberal elites" were using state power. Secondly, their successes in campaigns to remove the liberal majority on the Magnolia School Board and to replace it with a conservative majority and to ban the teaching of sex education in Anaheim's schools suggest what was potentially most appealing about ideological conservatism to a more general public.¹⁸ To put it more precisely, preventing state institutions from inculcating values deemed unconventional and potentially subversive and using them instead to enforce and promote traditional, "common sense," and patriotic values was something that could appeal to a much wider segment of the voting public than ideological anti-statism and rabid anticommunism. This would become even clearer as the 1960s progressed, although in the case of the University of California and its Irvine campus, the institution would prove much harder to influence than local school boards. As such, failure to decisively affect the direction of public higher education in California tended to generate cynicism and, in many cases, hostility toward state institutions. And where direct ideological assaults proved ineffective, this hostility would be channeled to achieving conservative ends by defunding efforts instead.

Tensions at the new university first became apparent in early 1966 when Southern California Communist Party activist Dorothy Healy was invited to speak on campus. While the reaction was relatively muted compared to some of the outcry generated by other controversial events at the Irvine campus in the years to follow, the nature of the furor that

greeted Healy's appearance generally outlined the shape of the arguments that would pit conservative Orange County residents against campus activism in the years to come, arguments that caught university's administrators—most specifically Chancellor Daniel Aldrich—precariously in the middle.

In and of itself, Healey's visit was rather unremarkable, just one of dozens of guest speakers who appeared on campus that year, as Daniel Aldrich would always point out in his response letters to irate area residents. Invited by the nascent Irvine chapter of Students for a Democratic Society to give a talk entitled "An American Communist's View of American Society," Healey dedicated most of her talk to the escalating war in Vietnam. Far from the "indoctrination" many strident conservatives assumed the presence of such a speaker on a university campus represented, Healey's talk worked to buttress the claims of civil libertarians that the presence of controversial speakers enabled students to sharpen their own—contrary—ideas. Indeed, Healey's visit allowed conservative UCI students and area residents an ideal platform from which to level trenchant political criticism. As the *Los Angeles Times* reported, when Healey described the American bombing of North Vietnam as inhuman, "she was interrupted by the cries of 'How about the Hungarians? How about the Poles? How about the Latvians?'" Later, a student drew loud applause when he asked "why he couldn't present his point of view in Moscow" since Ms. Healey was allowed to present hers in the United States.¹⁹

Nevertheless, the actual substance of Healey's visit and students' response to it did little to assuage what many area conservatives felt were bigger issues. In particular, Tustin mayor G. C. Mack, State Representative (and John Birch Society member) John Schmitz, and the Newport Beach American Legion post used Healey's appearance as a platform to express a deeper sense of discontent about the role of the University of California in the state's public life. Mack's response was particularly detailed and, as such, is worth discussing at some length. In letters to both Chancellor Aldrich and the *Santa Ana Register*, Mack expressed his disgust. In his letter to the *Register*, Mack's language was, to risk understatement, strong. "As Mrs. Healey ladled out her fetid witches' brew," he blasted, "the fumes seared nostrils of those in Tustin, who view this Memorial week-end as a time of paying homage . . . and respect to those who felt . . . belief in God and Country are not things to sneer about, and who gave

their lives in support of that proposition.” This visceral reaction is evidence that Healey’s appearance and the symbolism of it occurring so close to Memorial Day had stepped upon deeply ingrained values, perhaps unconsciously, for staunch conservatives such as Mack. The language itself—a “fetid witches’ brew . . . sear[ing] the nostrils” of area residents—is highly suggestive, indicating the degree to which public figures like Mack saw the university itself as a potentially dangerous imposition on the county’s community. Mack makes explicit the shadow Berkeley had cast over his thinking later in his letter, when he disparagingly mentions that “he [Clark Kerr] makes these tax supported facilities [universities] available to proponents of atheism, communism, perversion, filthy speech, etc.” Under the aegis of the liberal state, in Mack’s mind personified by Clark Kerr, the university was no longer seen as an institution turning out clean-cut, patriotic citizens but as potentially subversive, a breeding ground for values antithetical to those of “God and Country” symbolized not only by Memorial Day but also by the Orange County city of Tustin as an imagined landscape.²⁰

As Aldrich would repeatedly do in the years to come when receiving criticism from a source of public significance, he replied personally and at length to Mayor Mack. In his letter, Aldrich laid out the standard liberal defense for permitting controversial speakers representing unpopular viewpoints to be allowed to come to public university campuses to speak. “In pursuance of our common effort to preserve our republic and build a great university,” Aldrich began, “may I state unequivocally my belief that the surest guarantor to such achievement is freedom—freedom for people to speak, to hear, to examine, to reach conclusions, and to act upon them within the bounds of law and good taste.” He continued, arguing that “in the long history of our country and our great colleges and universities, young people have demonstrated their ability to separate the wise from the foolish, to tell good from evil.” Furthermore, he said, “on the basis of their belief in freedom of expression and advocacy, the leading colleges and universities of this country impose no ban on non-university speakers,” a position the laws governing public higher education in California explicitly endorsed.²¹

Aldrich’s letter laid out a position with regards to free speech on University of California campuses very similar to that of Pat Brown who was, at the time, still California’s governor and, as such, probably the most vis-



Daniel Aldrich, first Chancellor of the University of California, Irvine.
Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, UC Irvine Libraries: aso56.

ible and important representative symbol of liberalism to Californians. As Matthew Dallek describes, Brown “argued that in California college students had the right to be exposed to a whole range of political and social causes. He argued that no matter how noxious or left-wing or subversive such ideas were, they would not penetrate the minds of the young wits and sharp students on campus.” In this vein, Brown also believed that “the university was a place where open inquiry and free speech could be pushed to the limits.”²²

But conservatives like Mack had heard arguments like these already and had chosen to reject them. Indeed, Mack’s original letter specifically rejected the Aldrich/Kerr/Brown conception of the university. Referring

to a speech Aldrich made on May 20, just one week before the Healey engagement, Mack quotes Aldrich as having stated that a "broader spectrum of opportunities will help the UC as a whole to make a broader more varied contribution to the state and nation." Mack mocks this sentiment, arguing, "[I]t appears to me that the contribution is varied alright, when homosexuals, student rebels, and hardcore communists have virtually taken some of our campuses over." To Mack—who, remember, was a mayor of a substantial suburban municipality, not an isolated crank—the vision of higher education mainstream liberal leaders like Aldrich viewed as self-evidently beneficent were the heart of the problem. In the eyes of conservatives like Mack, the University of California's role—as a state institution—was to reinforce what they perceived as fundamental American values: patriotism, respect for the free enterprise system, a moral code derived from Protestant Christianity, and a respect for authority figures. Instead, they saw Aldrich's vision for public higher education as providing a forum in which these very values could be attacked and eroded with the state's imprimatur.

Mack's response also suggests the degree to which, for the area's conservatives, the main complaint was not necessarily Healey's professed communism. Indeed, his denunciation of homosexuals and student rebels gave equal weight to his denunciation of communism. With the specter of the Berkeley free speech movement still very much haunting the conservative Californian's mind, the issue was more the way in which the state's universities seemed to be providing a beachhead from which white middle-class suburban values were being attacked.

The kind of conflict Healey's visit generated would be revisited on a number of other occasions over the course of the next five years, with subsequent controversies sharpening and polarizing the ideological debate. As an example of how the stakes surrounding "campus politics" heightened as the sixties progressed, it is productive to closely examine the furor that surrounded Eldridge Cleaver's campus appearance in September 1968, over two years after Healey's visit.

On the one hand there is nothing surprising about the fact that Cleaver's appearance troubled many in the community. A serial inmate in California's prison system, Cleaver joined the Black Panther Party after being bailed out by Beverly Axelrod, a reporter from the radical

Berkeley periodical *Ramparts*. Cleaver had come to Axelrod's attention for his skill as a writer. It was also this skill—as well as his oratorical flair—that impressed both Bobby Seale and Huey Newton, who saw Cleaver as a useful asset for the Black Panther Party. Eventually, his new contacts enabled Cleaver to insinuate himself into the flourishing radical community surrounding the University of California, Berkeley, where a group of students invited him to teach a class on racism in the fall of 1968. It was this proposal that provided the immediate backdrop to the controversy surrounding Cleaver's invitation to speak at UCI, after the board of regents—in conjunction with Governor Reagan—successfully blocked the course from being taught at Berkeley. Instead, the regents, in consultation with Berkeley's administrators, agreed to allow Cleaver to deliver just one lecture on the campus. Enraged with their decision, Cleaver then embarked on a speaking tour of the state, denouncing Reagan and the regents to virtually anyone who would listen.²³ It was as a part of this "tour" that Cleaver was to speak at UCI.

In the end, Cleaver's much-anticipated appearance proved less than inspired. Cleaver clearly aimed to shock, but by late 1968, such calculated appeals had developed a rather perfunctory quality. Calling Governor Reagan and President Johnson "pigs," challenging Reagan to a duel, and declaring his desire for the Black Panthers to acquire a nuclear bomb, Cleaver ended his discourse declaring in favor of "Black power for the black man, faculty power for the faculty, student power for the students, and barbecue for the pigs." The rest of the panel of which Cleaver was a part spoke, and the event wrapped up with no further incident.²⁴ Yet, however much of an anti-climax the event actually was, Cleaver's very ability to appear on UCI's campus to give any kind of speech roiled the local community. In total, in the weeks surrounding the controversy, Aldrich received over twenty times as many letters, petitions, and phone calls condemning his handling of the matter than he did those praising him.²⁵ What perhaps *was* surprising was the degree to which the criticism increasingly came from beyond the usual right-wing suspects.

To be sure, those in the community who had blamed Aldrich for the prior appearance of controversial speakers did not let up. As was the case with the Healey episode, local right-wing citizens had a field day castigating Aldrich's leadership. Retired Air Force Colonel Arthur T. Cameron's letter was an example of this category, as it closely echoed themes Tustin

Mayor G. C. Mack had emphasized during the earlier Dorothy Healey controversy: "For over 25 years I worked with men of all kinds and commanded troops under combat conditions." Cameron emphasized,

I was willing to give my life for this country. I have never heard men speak such filth and soot from a public platform to compare with that of Cleaver. . . . I can assure you, Sir, that none of my five children will attend the University of California—Irvine or any other UC—Campus. My children will get their education alright but where there still remains respect for intelligence, loyalty to the United States, patriotism, and where the dignity of my child will be protected—by the leaders. How much longer are you and the top educators of this Country going to support profane, filthy, irresponsible, ill-bred, treasonous . . . kooks and rats of Cleaver's ilk? This clod; this donkey; this anti-american; this clown—actually getting his picture on the front page of our leading papers!!²⁶

As had Mack's, Colonel Cameron's letter offered an emotive defense of a deeply held, conservative worldview: that American was a great nation, founded on values of patriotism, loyalty, self-sacrifice, and a respect for order and authority, and that the willingness of certain political and community leaders to implicitly endorse the views of radical celebrity speakers who fundamentally challenged these precepts by allowing them to appear on tax-payer-supported public facilities was simply unacceptable.

To an extent, Cameron and perhaps even Tustin Mayor Mack could be dismissed as right-wing cranks. Perhaps it is more significant that those who claimed themselves to be favorably disposed toward—or even financial backers of—the university also registered their disgust. Newport Beach resident Baldwin M. Baldwin's correspondence with Chancellor Aldrich offers an example of this turn in public sentiment. Baldwin used his letter as a platform from which to announce his decision to end formal association with the university community. "Having enjoyed my association, during the past few months, with the Directors of the UCI Foundation," Baldwin began, "it is with regret that . . . I find that I no longer wish to serve as one of your directors. . . . I, for one, do not intend to be intimidated by Black Panthers, Black Power, or what have you. For the University to allow the use of their Campuses for the preaching of hate by a convicted rapist, a felon on parole . . . is beyond comprehension."²⁷

While resignations such as Baldwin's were troubling, the real threat the university faced came from the potential damage to public sentiment

favorable to educational funding. Aldrich received dozens of letters making this threat, whereas prior controversies had only produced a few. There were perhaps several reasons why this was so. For one, national events had aroused ideological polarization; in particular, the Vietnam War's escalation and the civil rights movement's radicalization seemed to have suggested to all parties—radicals, liberals, and conservatives—that a decisive moment was at hand. This sense had the effect of intensifying student activist zeal; but it also had the effect of stiffening conservative resolve, driving a good deal of the public rightward as the middle ground seemed to shrink.

But perhaps even more important in the California context was the presence on the ballot that fall of several major initiatives dealing with the public funding of education. That November, the voters were to go to the polls to decide on Proposition 3, which, if passed, would authorize \$250 million in bonds for state higher education. Furthermore, an additional \$201.4 million would be provided by matching federal and state grants if the voters approved the initial \$250 million outlay, meaning that a total of \$451.4 million in funding was riding on the proposition's passage. Passage was particularly important for UCI as a young institution; the Orange County university was to receive \$48.9 million (\$20.5 directly derived from tax-payer-supported bonds) if the proposition were to pass.²⁸ Consequently, in the fall of 1968, irate Californian voters had a device that could function as credible leverage against the state's politicians and educational leaders. By voting down Proposition 3, they could send a message they felt politicians and administrators were sure to hear. Furthermore, by adopting the language of the "outraged tax payer," these citizens made the rhetorical move of identifying themselves as the proverbial hardworking "everyman," the nation's "true majority," besieged by radicals, bureaucrats, "agitators," "Negroes," and so on. It was a discourse of which George Wallace would be proud; it was also the discourse upon which Kevin Phillips' famed "emerging Republican majority" would be built.²⁹

Both right wingers as well as less ideological citizens wielded their potential votes against Proposition 3 as a threat in their letters to Chancellor Aldrich in the wake of Eldridge Cleaver's campus appearance. Jerry R. Johnson of Fountain Valley was an example of the former. "I recently attended the Eldridge Cleaver fiasco at UCI to see for myself what was

occurring at our universities," Johnson explained. "I was disgusted with Cleaver, but even more at the officials of the campus who allowed this display of garbage under the guise of free speech." Yet, for Johnson, "these appearances have done some good—those of us who are paying for the universities may now start working to oppose school bonds until some common sense returns to some university heads."³⁰ A letter from the Garden Grove chapter of the VFW was in a similar vein. In it, Post Commander Raymond Ray accused Aldrich of being "either unwilling or unable to cope with the situation as evidenced by the recent appearance of guest teacher, Eldridge Cleaver, an ex-convict. . . . We cannot and will not sit idle while our tax supported schools and universities are allowed to be used by agitators who preach hatred, advocate violence, and encourage rebellion." Accordingly, Ray asserted, "it is our intention as Veterans and taxpayers to oppose all salary increases and appropriations to the universities."³¹ Edith Myer of Seal Beach's letter went even further, adding a dose of racism: "These people preach the arming of black people and the shooting down of white people." Myer continued,

This is not free speech but downright treason. The negro has had more civil rights given to them [sic] than the white people ever had. The more they get the more they demand. The tax payers are to [sic] busy working, to pay taxes that keep up our government including the colleges to stage sit-ins or demonstrations. We do not believe that our tax dollars should be used to support any college that allows treasonous behavior on campus. If these people are allowed to teach our young people their kind of hate and treason, it is time we, the tax payers, go on strike and refuse to pay taxes to support the very people that brag that they will bury us.³²

Yet, as noted, the letters from more moderate citizens were numerous as well. Corona Del Mar resident P. Dee Cook's letter is a good example, evincing more a sense of betrayal than of white hot anger. "Your condoning the use of our universities by Eldridge Cleaver, and his ilk, astounds me," Cook began. "I have worked hard for school bond issues in our local community and will continue to do so. . . . Defiance of . . . higher authority by you and some of your professors will alienate much support for the University." Max D. Liston, proprietor of Liston Scientific Corporation in Newport Beach, expressed a similar sentiment. Like Cook, Liston claimed to be a public education booster. "We have watched the Irvine campus develop with considerable pride and interest," he declared,

"as we felt this institution would be a tremendous asset to our community and all of California. . . . [But] . . . recently . . . we have become alarmed at statements attributed to some of its faculty. The recent affair with Cleaver and your faculties [sic] recent endorsement has brought great discredit to your young institution and its faculty. You cannot expect continued support unless this situation is corrected."³³

Mr. Liston's warning turned out to be prescient; on November 5, Proposition 3 was defeated by almost 700,000 votes (3,523,097 against, 2,838,730 in favor, or 55 percent to 45 percent). In Orange County, the margin was even wider, with 277,312 votes cast against and 183,096 cast in favor (or 60 percent against, 40 percent for).³⁴ The defeat of Proposition 3 was a blow to UCI and to California public education, yet its importance was not so much in the funding forfeited but in the larger ideological turning it suggested. While public anger about the disorder and radicalism emanating from UC campuses was not new (as Ronald Reagan's election two years earlier had indicated), its translation into the denial of public funds for education in such a direct manner was. Indeed, in 1966, the same year Ronald Reagan was elected governor, two major education bonds—Proposition 2, granting \$230 million in bonds for higher education (thus virtually identical to Proposition 3 in 1968) and Proposition 1, granting \$275 million in bonds for public education, had been approved by 56 and 60 percent, respectively—suggest the degree of the shift.³⁵ More than Reagan's election in 1966, which could be understood, perhaps, as a desire on the electorate's part for more "law and order," the rejection of Proposition 3 in 1968 marked a clear rebuke of the type of activist state the California political tradition had built.

The degree to which campus unrest had disrupted a positive association between state activism and the public good would become even more apparent in 1970. The events of that year facilitated a crescendo of passions on both sides. In the spring of 1970, the Irvine campus would yet again find itself embroiled in a controversy initiated by the specter of outside events. This time, it was the proposed appearance of the "Chicago Seven" (or "Chicago Eight") as a part of their nationwide tour of university campuses that spring.

The "Chicago Seven" was the name given to a group of prominent radicals who had been charged with inciting rioting during the Democ-

matic National Convention in Chicago in August 1968. The group included renowned pacifist/activist Dave Dellinger, national Students For a Democratic Society (SDS) leaders Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden, "Yippie" leaders Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, Black Panther Bobby Seale, as well as lesser known activists John Froines and Lee Weiner. This "Eight" became "Seven" when Seale demanded to be tried separately. It would have been hard to find a group of individuals who better represented all that Orange County's conservative activists loathed about the New Left and the counterculture. The trial itself got underway on September 24, 1969, and quickly became something of a circus, as the accused used it as a platform to attack the presiding judge (Julius Hoffman) and the "establishment" more generally. On February 20, 1970, all seven defendants were found not guilty of the more serious conspiracy charges, but Davis, Hayden, Dellinger, Hoffman, and Rubin were found guilty of "crossing state lines with the intent to start a riot," a conviction that carried the punishment of five years imprisonment and fines of \$5,000. These convictions were immediately appealed, and the defendants remained free on bail awaiting the result of the appeal process.³⁶

With this as a background, the Seven, along with one of their defense attorneys, James Kunstler, began speaking at university campuses across the country as a part of an effort designed to drum up support for the appeals process. The UCLA and UCI branches of the New University Conference (NUC), an organization of radical students and faculty members, arranged for the Chicago Seven's appearance on the Irvine campus for April 26, 1970. While the appearance of such a provocative crew of individuals was bound to create controversy in conservative Orange County, events at UC Santa Barbara ensured the backlash would reach a fever pitch. On February 25, James Kunstler gave a speech at an appearance organized as part of a national series of TDA (The Day After) events organized to protest the Chicago Seven's trial verdicts. In the aftermath of his speech, many of the approximately 2,500 UCSB students gathered to hear him went on a rampage that resulted in significant damage to the neighboring community of Isla Vista, including the burning down of the local Bank of America branch. If this were not enough, partly as a result of events that occurred in the wake of Kunstler's appearance, Rubin and Hoffman were denied permits to speak on the Santa Barbara campus that

April. As a result, another round of rioting broke out, this time leaving one student dead from police sniper fire. To compound the effect news events from Santa Barbara were having on the minds of Orange County citizens, a similar decision made by the Berkeley campus administration to bar an appearance of members of the Chicago Seven also kicked off rioting just days after the shooting death in Santa Barbara.³⁷

In this context, the news that Daniel Aldrich had allowed *all seven* of the defendants *as well as* James Kunstler to appear struck many in Orange County as nothing short of lunacy. To ultraconservatives, it was quite literally evidence of treason. The usual conservative watchdogs were out in full force, with conservative politicians like State Senator John Schmitz and State Educational Superintendent Max Rafferty lining up to get their shots in at Aldrich.³⁸ However, many less ideologically strident local residents strongly denounced the university administration as well. The Orange County Board of Supervisors—which had never before involved itself with a UCI controversy—issued a 4–0 decision (with one abstention) condemning Aldrich's decision. Likewise, both the Santa Ana and Costa Mesa city councils passed resolutions condemning the proposed Chicago Seven appearance.³⁹

Perhaps most important was Robert Badham, a moderate Republican who represented Newport Beach in the state assembly, who summed up the concerns of the community's less ideologically minded business elites. He spoke for those members of the community—many living in Newport Beach—who had been instrumental in bringing a UC campus to Orange County in the first place but had serious reservations about the current course of events: "I must urgently request, on behalf of my constituents, that you either prevent these appearances or take full responsibility for any resultant injury or damage which transpires," implored Badham.

I know full well what pressures are continually brought to bear on your office in the name of free speech, namely by those who would destroy it, yet I am sure you are aware in many cases where this group or a member of this group has appeared before a primarily university group, there has been resultant bloodshed and destruction. . . . In addition, the injury and damage of which I speak would only be in the present and cannot begin to encompass the almost irreparable dislocation that would occur between the surrounding communities and the campus should a "Santa Barbara incident" take place.⁴⁰

Badham spoke for those of the Newport Beach elite who worked hardest to bring the university to Orange County, people who had believed the presence of a new university campus would bring substantial social, cultural, and economic benefits to the region. What mattered most was not that individuals like the Chicago Seven (or Eldridge Cleaver or Dorothy Healey) were allowed to speak but that if the university administration allowed such an event to go forward, its ability to play a key role in the region's development would perhaps be fatally compromised by a backlash more severe than the one that had sunk Proposition 3 in 1968.

As the Chicago Seven's appearance loomed, UCI's administrators found themselves in a very difficult position. The path of least resistance might have been to cancel the appearance, although to do so would have violated Aldrich's stated (and consistently held) policy that the administration should not control speakers invited to campus by independent student groups. Administrative cancellation also would have risked the kind of violent backlash by students that had occurred at both Berkeley and Santa Barbara. Fortunately, he never had to make a decision. On April 20, 1970, the Chicago Seven cancelled their appearance, claiming that they needed to be present at a newly scheduled hearing involving accused co-conspirator Bobby Seale in New Haven, Connecticut. The historical record is silent as to whether there was any behind-the-scenes maneuvering that caused the cancellation. Whatever the case, UCI's administrators were spared from the horns of the dilemma. In comments to the *Los Angeles Times*, Aldrich admitted feeling "a sense of relief," acknowledging that the university's administrators had been "working night and day trying to figure out what we should do in dealing with this program."⁴¹

UCI's reprieve from controversy proved short-lived. A few weeks later, college campuses across the country were thrown into a climactic rage when on April 30 Richard Nixon announced his decision to expand the Vietnam War into neighboring Cambodia. Immediately, students on college campuses nationwide responded in force. At first, the numerous demonstrations and student strikes remained largely non-violent. However, events took a decidedly more sinister turn on May 4, when Ohio National Guardsmen were called in to restore order at that state's Kent State University campus. Then, famously, for reasons that to this day

remain murky, the guardsmen fired into a crowd of demonstrators, killing four students in the process. More than Nixon's escalation announcement, the deaths at Kent State rendered business-as-usual on many of the nation's college campuses impossible. In the week after Kent State, students at 350 college campuses went on strike, while protests resulted in the closing of 500, fifty of them for the remainder of the school year.⁴² Irvine would not be spared.

By this time, however, even conservatives had become inured to an extent to events that seemed to be becoming almost routine. As a result, the immediate outburst of student anger and protest that gripped the region's campuses attracted little opprobrium. Sensibly, Governor Reagan announced that all the University of California and California State College campuses would remain closed from May 7 to 10 to allow a cooling off period. Controversy would come only after students returned on the 11th, when it became known that the UCI administration had agreed to a student proposal its critics characterized as granting "credits for protesting." What the critics were referring to was a motion devised by student activists, then subsequently endorsed by the faculty senate and approved by Chancellor Aldrich, to offer all the campus' students the choice to opt out of the regular curriculum for the remainder of the year. In lieu of regular course work, students would be allowed to pursue one of the following options: drop any course without sanction, take an incomplete in any course, choose to have all one's courses for the spring quarter graded on a pass/fail basis, or, most controversially, drop one's regular courses in order to enroll in a student-designed "Free University." This "Free University" would consist of courses designed by students and sympathetic faculty members for those wishing "to redirect . . . energies towards stopping the war."⁴³

Unsurprisingly, the administration's endorsement of this plan proved quite unpopular in the surrounding community. The issue may have changed but the arguments remained the same. Indeed, the vitriol Aldrich received from the county's right wingers matched the angry response of New Leftists to Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia. "Aldrich," thundered Oliver Olsen of Westminster, "you can't be called Mister because that title is reserved for a man or a male. You are a beatnik creep. I am sick of you dam [sic] Commie loving agitators and your limp wrist response to the questions of the people of the County." Again, citizens raised the specter of voting down school bonds. Margaret Tibbetts of Laguna Hills

provided a good example of how this threat was employed. "Are you trying to educate our young people, or trying to make the world safe for Communism?" she asked. "As one of the 'great silent majority' who intends to be silent no longer because it is completely fed up with its radical educators, faculty, and administrators, I would just like you to know that from now on most of us are going to vote NO on every bond appropriation for school improvement that is put before us."⁴⁴ Once again, Aldrich's liberal instincts were deemed inadequate—"limp-wrist[ed]," in Olsen's tellingly gendered language—to deal with threats the county's numerous and vocal right wingers viewed to be corrosive of all that had made America great. Encouraged by politicians like John Schmitz, they did not hesitate to heap their scorn on "establishment" figures George Wallace might have referred to as the "pointy headed intellectuals." By 1970, the pattern had become very familiar.

To be sure, many moderate citizens were unhappy with Aldrich's decision as well. For example, a group of citizens from Balboa Island attached their names to a letter, arguing that the "Free University" program "places in jeopardy the high quality of education our university system has always strived for. Lawful protest by students should be an extra-curricular activity." The letter also warned, "[M]any voters who in the past have supported financial propositions for higher education are retracting their support in view of recent events." Likewise, Beverly Barnes of Newport Beach wrote to say that while "Orange County has been very pleased and proud of its University . . . and with the exception of isolated groups have loyally supported [it]," recent events threatened the esteem in which it was held. "The fact that they voted to give course credit for war protest seems to us almost like something out of Alice in Wonderland," she claimed. "If this present trend continues, it [is] easy to predict a further cutback in community support."⁴⁵ Again, as was the case with the more stridently conservative critics, the more moderate "pro-university" critics' criticism had developed an almost routine quality. If the university could not keep its own house in order, they warned once again, its "friends" in the community would no longer be able to hold back the hordes of irate citizens clamoring to strangle the university by way of the ballot box.

As had been the case in 1968, the threats to the university's funding were not idle, because of the presence on the ballot that June of Proposition 1, which, if passed, would grant the state university system \$249 mil-

lion in taxpayer-supported bonds. Undoubtedly influenced by that May's events, which likely seemed to many voters evidence of a quickening pace of dissent and disorder, the proposition was defeated statewide by over 400,000 votes.⁴⁶ The backlash against one of the quintessential institutions of liberal American statecraft was alive and well.

Yet just as it must have seemed to voters that events on the nation's campuses were hurtling toward some kind of apocalyptic conclusion, the feverish tempo of events seemed to slacken. For UCI, May 1970 appears, retrospectively at least, to have been something of a last hurrah. This is not to say that the Cambodia/Kent State aftermath was the last time the university would generate controversy in Orange County; far from it. But it was the last controversy that generated thousands of angry letters and phone calls and weeks of newspaper coverage. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, although one suspects that just as the New Left and the counterculture had burnt itself out by the early 1970s, so too had the hard right. In good measure, the decline of both was mutually self-reinforcing. At least in the case of Orange County, the two sides had depended on each other to rally others to their respective causes. And just as the disaster at Altamont Speedway, the Manson killings, and the rise of the Weather Underground seemed to symbolize for many the death of the counterculture and the New Left's idealistic aspirations, the Orange County right suffered a highly symbolic reversal in 1970 when John Schmitz lost his bid to replace the recently deceased ultraconservative James Utt in Congress to a more moderate Republican challenger.⁴⁷

Ultimately, then, passions on all sides would subside but only after the nature of California politics had been changed rather significantly. The kind of reform liberalism espoused by the likes of Pat Brown and Clark Kerr would, rather ironically, become the victim of its own ostensible accomplishments. Rather than furthering their vision of what California's socio-cultural landscape could and should become—as optimistic liberals had believed they were doing in the late 1950s and early 1960s when the decision to massively expand higher education's institutional presence was made—the expansion of the state's higher educational system had the unintended effect of eroding popular support for reform liberals' political agenda. The presence of a new university campus in one of the most conservative parts of the state had the effect of crystallizing the link in the



Aerial view of the UC Irvine campus in the mid-1960s.
Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, UC Irvine Libraries: :aso56 album7 photo4.

minds of its residents between the (liberal) state and the perceived breakdown of socio-cultural norms. The result was not only the election in 1966 of a conservative governor who promised to restore "law and order" on the state's campuses, but the unprecedented rejection by plebiscite of important and expensive bonds needed to fund higher education's expansion.

To be sure, the controversy that seemed to plague the new Orange County campus was only a small part of a larger story that has been told many times already, a story about the declining fortunes of liberalism as America's hegemonic governing ideology and the concomitant rise of the New Right in California and across the nation. What it does show is the new and important degree to which the famed conservative "backlash" of the late 1960s was, at least in the context of Orange County, about the specific role the state should take in defining and promoting the common good. For many of Orange County's citizens, an activist state was useful only insofar as it facilitated the reproduction of the pre-existing social order they felt made their community a desirable place to live. When it seemed to be encouraging the opposite, the state increasingly appeared more as an adversary than a benefactor. As the 2007 controversy surrounding Erwin Chemerinsky has once more emphasized, institutions like universities have served and continue to serve as vital arenas where ideological opponents struggle to control a critical locus of state power as a means of shaping society to their liking. In particular, as a part of a generally liberal state institution located in a politically conservative region, the University of California's Irvine campus provides historians and other scholars a valuable means of observing the tenuous role of state institutions in shaping American politics.

NOTES

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¹ On the Chemerinsky affair, see, Garrett Therolf and Harvey Weinstein, "UC Irvine aborts hiring Chemerinsky as law school dean," *Los Angeles Times*, September 13, 2007; Dana Parsons, "Excuse for UCI's fumble on law school dean not good enough," *Los Angeles Times*, September 13, 2007; Garrett Therolf, "Chemerinsky returns to UC Irvine post," *Los Angeles Times*, September 17, 2007; Nick Schou, "Who (Almost) Dunnit?" *OC Weekly*, September 27, 2007.

² On political conservatism in Orange County, see, Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: Origins of the New Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Kurt Schuparra, *Triumph of the Right: the Rise of the Cali-*

fornia Conservative Movement (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997); and Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmasking of the American Consensus* (Hill & Wang, 2000), Chapter 7 in particular.

- ³ The literature that advances this argument is extensive. It was made at the time by many political commentators and journalists and subsequently has been recapitulated by many historians. See for example, Allen Matusow, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984); John Morton Blum, *Years of Discord: American Politics and Society, 1961–1974* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991); James Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States from 1945–1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- ⁴ John Aubrey Douglass, *The California Idea and American Higher Education: 1850 to the 1960 Master Plan* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 3.
- ⁵ On California Progressivism, see, William Deverell and Tom Sitton, eds., *California Progressivism Revisited* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), and Spencer Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives 1911–1917* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968).
- ⁶ Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons*, 35.
- ⁷ Douglass, *The California Idea*, 135.
- ⁸ Peter Schrag, *Paradise Lost: California's Experience, America's Future* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 33–35.
- ⁹ The literature on the political economy of the OECD countries from World II to the 1970s is vast. Here are some of the more important recent works: for the United States, see Kevin Boyle, *The UAW and the Heyday of American Liberalism, 1945–1968* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989); Sidney M. Milkis and Jerome M. Mileur, *The Great Society and the High Tide of American Liberalism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005); James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: the United States, 1945–1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Bruce Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938–1980* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994); and Jason Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism: the Political Economy of Public Works, 1933–1956* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); in a European context, see Sherri Berman, *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's 20th Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), particularly Chapters 10 and 11; and Donald Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism: the West European Left in the Twentieth Century* (New York: the New Press, 1997).
- ¹⁰ "Remarks by Governor Edmund G. Brown, Dedication of Irvine campus, University of California, June 20, 1964," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 56, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.
- ¹¹ Remarks of President Clark Kerr, University of California, Dedication of Irvine Campus, June 20, 1964," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 56, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.
- ¹² See, Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 5th Edition (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 66.
- ¹³ "Remarks of the President, University of California, Irvine, Office of the White House Press Secretary, June 20, 1964," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 56, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.
- ¹⁴ For a pre–World War II history of Orange County conservatism, see, McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 29–37.
- ¹⁵ In the everyday language of contemporary politics, McGirr's term can be loosely equated with "social" or "cultural" conservative.
- ¹⁶ McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 11.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 180.
- ¹⁸ On the Magnolia School District battle, see, McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 56–59, 71–74; on the Anaheim battle, see, William Martin, *With God On Our Side: the Rise of the Religious Right in America* (New York: Broadway Books, 1996), 102–18, and McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 228–30.

- ¹⁹ "Gibes, Banners Greet Communist at Irvine," *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 1966.
- ²⁰ "Letter to the *Santa Ana Register* from G. C. Mack, Mayor of Tustin," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 24, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.
- ²¹ "Letter to G. C. Mack from Chancellor Daniel Aldrich, June 1, 1966," Central Records Unit records AS-004, Box 24, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.
- ²² Matthew Dallek, *The Right Moment: Ronald Reagan's First Victory and the Decisive Turning Point in American Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 91.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 83–85.
- ²⁴ Richard Sharp and Amanda Spake, "In the Next Issue of RAMPARTS magazine I'm Challenging Ronald Reagan to a Duel," *New University*, October 1, 1968.
- ²⁵ "Cleaver Controversy" Folder, Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 25, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.
- ²⁶ "Letter from Arthur T. Cameron to Daniel Aldrich, undated," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 24, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.
- ²⁷ "Letter from Baldwin M. Baldwin to Mr. John F. Bishop, President, UCI Foundation, Chancellor Aldrich, Governor Reagan, and the Board of Regents, September 23, 1968," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 24, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.
- ²⁸ In total, Orange County would receive \$56.4 million, as Cal State Fullerton would receive \$7.5 in addition to the moneys dedicated to UCI. See, Tom Eichhorn, "Cleaver's Speech Causes Community's Consternation," *New University*, October 3, 1968, and "Proposition 3—Bonds to Provide State College, University, and Urban Facilities," 1968, Hastings Law Library, University of California, Hastings College of Law, California Ballot Measures Database, <http://traynor.uchastings.edu/cgi-bin/starfinder/6755/calprop.txt>
- ²⁹ Kevin Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority* (New York: Doubleday, 1970).
- ³⁰ Letter from Jerry R. Johnson to Daniel Aldrich, October 16, 1968," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 24, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.
- ³¹ "Letter from Raymond Ray, Commander, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Garden Grove Post No. 6475 to Daniel Aldrich, October 6, 1968," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 24, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.
- ³² "Letter from Edith Myer to Daniel Aldrich, September 17, 1968," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 24, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.
- ³³ "Letter from P. Dee Cook to Daniel Aldrich, October 7, 1968," "Letter from Max D. Liston to Daniel Aldrich, October 14, 1968," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 24, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.
- ³⁴ Robert M. Gettemy, "Educators Cite Factors in Prop. 3 Defeat," *Los Angeles Times*, November 7, 1968; "Proposition 3—Bonds to Provide State College, University, and Urban Facilities," 1968, Hastings Law Library, University of California, Hastings College of Law, California Ballot Measures Database, <http://traynor.uchastings.edu/cgi-bin/starfinder/6755/calprop.txt>
- ³⁵ Hastings Law Library, University of California, Hastings College of Law, California Ballot Measures Database, <http://traynor.uchastings.edu/cgi-bin/starfinder/7243/calprop.txt>
- ³⁶ On the trial, see, Tom Hayden, *Reunion: A Memoir* (New York: Random House, 1988), and Jonah Raskin, *For the Hell of It: the Life and Times of Abbie Hoffman* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996).
- ³⁷ Hayden, *Reunion*; Gaskin, *For the Hell of It*; Robert Kelley, *Transformations: UC Santa Barbara, 1909–1979* (Santa Barbara: Associated Students, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1981); "Radicals Battle Berkeley Police 2nd Straight Day," *Santa Ana Register*, April 17, 1970; and "Victim Opposed Violence, UC Riot Cost His Life," *Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1970.
- ³⁸ "Rafferty Attacks Aldrich," *Santa Ana Register*, April 23, 1970; John Schmitz, "Editorial," *Santa Ana Register*, April 23, 1970; and "Letter from Max Rafferty, State Superintendent of Public Education, to Daniel Aldrich, April 21, 1970," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 24, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.
- ³⁹ "A Resolution of the City Council of the City of Costa Mesa, California, to Chancellor Daniel Aldrich, April 20, 1970"; "Letter from Mayor Lorin Grisct of Santa Ana to Daniel Aldrich, April 29, 1970"; and

"Resolution of the Board of Supervisors of Orange County, California, April 15, 1970," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 24, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.

⁴⁰ "Letter from Assemblyman Robert E. Badham, Seventy-First District, to Daniel Aldrich," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 24, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.

⁴¹ "Five Members of 'Chicago 7' Cancel at UCI," *Santa Ana Register*, April 22, 1970, and Scott Moore, "Aldrich 'Relieved' at Cancelling of UCI Rally by Chicago 7," *Los Angeles Times*, April 22, 1970.

⁴² On Kent State, see, Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York, 1988), 410–11, and Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 350–52.

⁴³ "University of California Irvine Division of the Academic Senate, Summary of Actions: May 6 and 10, 1970"; "Untitled Document Describing Student Plan for the Free University," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 25, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries; and Scott Moore, "Credit for Antiwar Efforts Reaffirmed," *Los Angeles Times*, May 15, 1970.

⁴⁴ "Letter from Oliver E. Olsen of Westminster to Daniel Aldrich, May 12, 1970," and "Letter from Margaret Tibbetts of Laguna Hills to Daniel Aldrich, May 13, 1970," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 25, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.

⁴⁵ "Letter from Mr. and Mrs. John S. Swain, et al., of Balboa Island to Daniel Aldrich, May 12, 1970," and "Letter from Beverly B. Barnes of Newport Beach, May 20, 1970," Central Records Unit records, AS-004, Box 25, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Irvine, Libraries.

⁴⁶ Record 665, Proposition 1, 1970 Primary, University of California Health Sciences Facilities, <http://traynor.uchastings.edu/cgi-bin/starfinder/29501/calprop.txt>

⁴⁷ On Schmitz and Utt, see, Karl A. Lamb, *As Orange Goes: Twelve California Families and the Future of American Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), 10–13.

THE HISTORIAN'S EYE

What does an historian notice in a photo from the past?

Coats and hats were in order on this brisk January 1921 afternoon as people gathered to dedicate the newest building at the Los Angeles Sanatorium in Duarte, California. From a nearby water tower a photographer captured the growing campus, surrounded by citrus fields and the San Gabriel Mountains, in a region whose salubrious climate had long attracted health seekers.

The sanatorium's 1913 founding by the Jewish Consumptive Relief Association (JCRA) was a response to the influx of indigent tuberculosis sufferers arriving in Southern California. Organized by members of the Los Angeles Jewish community, the institution's mission was to be non-sectarian, free, and national in scope. Formally called the Los Angeles Sanatorium, many called it the "City of Hope."

On January 11, 1914 the sanatorium opened and in its first year admitted 31 patients. Treatment consisted largely of bed rest, fresh air, and good food. The annual patient census was 182 (150 men and 32 women) in 1921. Two hundred seventy-three patients received treatment in 1923, staying an average of 187 days. The majority were workingmen representing a range of occupations, the highest proportion being tailors. Patients came from across the country to the facility seeking a cure.

In this view, the three buildings on the left, fronting the green, housed patients. Funds to construct these buildings came from the Workmen's Circle and Chicago philanthropist Albert Kuppenheimer. The festive bunting marks the dedication of the first concrete structure on campus (out of view to the right), funded by the San Francisco Auxiliary.

Treating tuberculosis remained the JCRA's focus until after World War II, but with advances in medical science and a widening emphasis on other diseases, the institution launched an ambitious transformation into a national medical center, a research institute, and a postgraduate education program. Still occupying its original San Gabriel Valley location, the institution officially changed its name to City of Hope in 1949.

SUSAN DOUGLASS YATES



DEDICATION DAY
City of Hope opens its newest building in Duarte, California,
January 1921. *Courtesy City of Hope Archives.*

Book Reviews

AFTER THE GOLD RUSH: *Tarnished Dreams in the Sacramento Valley*. By David Vaught. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007. 310 pp. \$55.00 cloth.) Reviewed by Jeff R. Bremer.

David Vaught has contributed a valuable study to the history of California detailing the neglected story of failed gold miners-turned-farmers in the Sacramento Valley. His well-argued and clearly written narrative focuses on the tragic story of American settlers along Putah Creek in Yolo County, twenty miles west of Sacramento, during the second half of the nineteenth century. *Tarnished Dreams* is a rich account of a rural world that has been overlooked by historians, and it is an important addition to recent work on rural life that has, to date, focused exclusively on the Midwest. This book covers many subfields of history—social, environmental, economic—and can be added to the new rural history that includes works by John Mack Faragher, R. Douglas Hurt, and Susan Gray.

Vaught tells the story of a hard-luck population that persevered for decades, despite tremendous obstacles, and helped transform the landscape into a highly productive agricultural region. The farmers who settled in Yolo County were determined, even desperate, to be successful after their disappointments in the goldfields. Environmental and economic problems abounded and floods, droughts, soil exhaustion, disputes over land titles, fluctuating prices, and overproduction tested the resilience of farm families. Vaught's story is a cautionary one where forces beyond the control of the area's population typically mocked American values of optimism and hard work. Their persistence against these odds, he writes, was remarkable.

Despite the fact that it appeared a great place to start their lives anew, the Sacramento Valley proved a volatile environment for farmers. The valley was fertile, flat, and had plenty of grass for cattle and ample forests for fencing. There were none of the blizzards that had plagued Midwestern farmers, and there were plenty of hungry miners to feed. While seeming the perfect place for wheat farming, the valley was subject to frequent flooding when rain or snowmelt poured out of the mountains onto the floodplain. Summers could be very dry and droughts were frequent. But the farmers of Putah Creek ignored these problems and cut back the riparian forest to open up land for their fields, reducing the ability of riverbanks to hold back floodwaters. Floods thus came, often alternating with droughts. But every setback only encouraged farmers to borrow more money in an attempt to expand production to pay off their mounting debts. Whenever one catastrophe befell them, they looked to the future, hoping for the next big harvest to stave off financial ruin.

In the 1850s early farmers found their dreams undercut by high production costs, drought, and slackening demand. But three bumper crops in the late 1860s began what Vaught terms a "Second Gold Rush," the era of California's bonanza wheat boom. Land

values and incomes rose and farmers increased production, believing that demand for wheat would always outstrip its supply. For a decade after 1867 times were good, and wheat production was profitable. Families finally seemed in control of their own destinies. They bought more land, invested in new equipment, and went deeply into debt to produce more wheat. The town of Davisville—which would later become the city of Davis and home to a University of California branch campus—expanded rapidly. Hotels, saloons, churches, and stores blossomed and brought the comforts of a more urban world to the area. Fraternal societies and temperance lecturers followed. Residents also tried to control the floods that had so devastated their farms, building levees and redirecting local streams.

In the late 1870s the good times came to an end. Floods, droughts, falling prices, and crop disease hammered the community. Prices fell for ten years and farmers began to ask if wheat agriculture would ever pay off. By the end of the 1880s, wheat prices had fallen by half, and increased grain production around the world, from Argentina to Australia, helped keep prices low. In response, Yolo County farmers transitioned from wheat production to that of fruits and almonds, hoping to cash in on the next great opportunity. Early adopters of this new strategy claimed that it earned greater rewards and had less risk. However, switching production caused problems that were not obvious. Fickle consumers and thirsty trees only continued to make farmer's lives difficult and their careers financially risky. Despite this, residents still believed that their economic salvation was just around the corner and that they needed only one or two successful years to get ahead.

Tarnished Dreams is extensively researched, and Vaught has set his story strongly in both primary and secondary sources. He has used the individual stories well, and they help to situate the larger historical picture of Putah Creek, as well as California. This book will be useful to scholars and general readers interested in the history of California, as well as those with an interest in rural and agricultural history. It could be easily used in classes on California or rural history, as it is very accessible to general and specialist readers alike.

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BROKERS OF CULTURE: *Italian Jesuits in the American West, 1848–1919*. By Gerald McKevitt. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007. 428 pp. \$60.00 cloth.) Reviewed by Susan Fitzpatrick Behrens.

In *Brokers of Culture: Italian Jesuits in the American West, 1848–1919*, Gerald McKevitt provides a comprehensive, engaging, beautifully written account of the expansive and overlooked role played by Italian Jesuits in the American West. McKevitt's wonderful eye for detail and anecdote allows the reader to enter the lives of his subjects as they tra-

verse the globe from Italy through the vast expanse of the United States. The work is exhaustively researched and includes photographs and documentation from an array of religious and secular archives throughout the United States. *Brokers of Culture* offers important insight into the Jesuits as a religious order and into what McKevitt describes as “the leitmotif of every Jesuit activity, from the first school in sixteenth-century Spain to the Indian missions of nineteenth-century Oregon . . . to adapt all things to ‘the circumstances of persons, times, and places’” (4). McKevitt argues that this characteristic combined with the Jesuits’ education and their status as a global mission order established them as ideal “brokers of culture” able to negotiate among the distinct peoples they encountered in the American West.

The central contribution of McKevitt’s work is to provide insight into the overlooked but central role that immigrant Jesuits played in the American West and to identify them as a global, multicultural force. His analysis traces the movement of Jesuits from their expulsion from Europe through their settlement first in Maryland and subsequently in the Hispanic Southwest, the Native American Northwest, and urbanized California. McKevitt illustrates that, while they were distinct in their religious motivation and organization, Jesuits shared other immigrants’ similar patterns of movement and settlement. They tended to follow paths established by predecessors within the order and to congregate in sites established by their brethren.

Without question, the Jesuits’ most evident and lasting contribution throughout the United States was in the field of education. From establishing Woodstock College, described as “the nation’s most influential Catholic seminary,” in the hinterlands of Maryland, to creating a plethora of Catholic Liberal Arts Colleges in the West, to establishing mission schools for Native American children on reservations, the Jesuits created a lasting imprint on American Catholicism and American society (77). The foundation of Santa Clara College, St. Ignatius College, Seattle College, Las Vegas College, Gonzaga College (University), College of the Sacred Heart (Regis College), and Loyola College (Loyola Marymount University), which is detailed in McKevitt’s account, stands as testimony to the Italian Jesuits’ skill, dedication, and influence.

One of the greatest contributions of *Brokers of Culture* is to illustrate the role that religious forces played in the settlement and expansion of the western frontier. It is here, perhaps, that the Jesuits’ role as “brokers of culture” becomes most evident, as they existed at the interface of the secular authority of the United States government and a range of peoples being incorporated into American society. McKevitt argues that because of their experience as global missionaries, as exiles, and in some cases even as Italians, the Jesuits were uniquely prepared to engage with Native Americans in the Northwest and with Hispanic Catholics in the Southwest. McKevitt details the way that Jesuits sought to negotiate a balance between imposing the Romanized version of Catholicism they identified as the authentic practice of faith and accepting practices and rituals that did not directly conflict with this model. Thus, in the Southwest, Jesuits sought to minimize what they viewed as the “excesses” of local practices by reforming saints’-day celebrations and processions to make them conform with Italian practice. McKevitt describes Jesuits following, prior to establishment of reservations, the Jesuit model of conversion developed in Paraguay, which included learning Native American languages, traveling, and living among distinct tribes in accord with their norms.

This effort at conversion through accommodation appears to have faded with the advent of mission schools. With support from the United States government, the Italian Jesuits established and staffed, along with religious Sisters, a number of mission schools on Native American reservations. Following United States government mandates, the Jesuits sought to promote Native American assimilation by focusing on children and emphasizing their transformation into sedentary small farmers. This effort appears not only to have transformed the Jesuits' methods to impose assimilation but also their mission, which came to include ownership and direction of farms to produce crops and goods for the schools and communities.

Future scholars might use McKevitt's excellent analysis of Jesuit labor among Hispanic Catholics in the Southwest and Native Americans in the Northwest as a point of departure to seek more information about how the proselytized participated in what appears as a silent process of negotiation. McKevitt offers an extraordinary and detailed account of the Jesuits with their personal idiosyncrasies, talents, and shortcomings and by doing so corrects stereotypical assumptions about their uniform brilliance and adaptability. The subjects of proselytism and education, however, remain considerably more obscure, and one wishes for more detail of their experience. Even with the understandable absence of source material from these subjects, the reader wishes at times for a better contextualization of the Italian Jesuits' experience of the West in the broader history of the region.

McKevitt's emphasis on the Jesuits as "brokers of culture" who were representatives of a "multicultural," "globalized" institution and whose experience led them to prize "cooperation over confrontation, appropriation and absorption over resistance" and to adopt a kind of "cultural relativism," is appealing but seems at odds in some cases with evidence in the text (3). The expulsion of the Jesuits from European and Latin American countries may be explained partially by their "transnational organization," but often it resulted from their tendency not to be terribly adaptive but rather to offer powerful competition to secular and religious authorities (5). Moreover, within McKevitt's text, accounts of conflicts among Jesuits over proper practice and between them and secular authorities combined with their efforts to assimilate distinct groups and to redefine gender norms among Native Americans, suggest limits to Jesuit accommodation. This is not to claim that Jesuits were not, as McKevitt argues, brokers of culture but only to emphasize that this status should not be conflated with one of advocating a distinctly modern ideal of multiculturalism or cultural relativism. The richness of McKevitt's text, research, and analysis offers an outstanding contribution to the growing literature on missions in the Americas and places this work into the broader context of the history of the American West.

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SUFFERING IN THE LAND OF SUNSHINE: A *Los Angeles Illness Narrative*. By Emily Abel. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006. 208 pp. \$24.95 paper.) Reviewed by Michael Block.

Against a backdrop of steadily increasing medical understanding of tuberculosis mixed with Darwin-inspired ideas of genetic susceptibility to disease, Charles Dwight Willard presented a vision of a manly, healthful utopia even as his tuberculosis left him dependent on female care and made him uncomfortably similar to the Mexicans, tramps, and others whom he despised. Although written by a professor of health services, and published in a series called *Critical Issues in Health and Medicine*, Emily K. Abel's *Suffering in the Land of Sunshine* does a remarkably tidy job of placing the experiences of one man in useful historical context. In less than 150 pages of text, Abel acquaints her readers with Willard, famous for founding the booster organ *Land of Sunshine* and leading the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, among other accomplishments, and explores his struggle with tuberculosis. As Abel correctly observes, most histories of disease have been written from the perspective of the physician rather than of the patient. Using Willard's letters to his family and other period sources, Abel provides an engrossing medical history from the patient's point of view. She shows how one diseased man fit into his time and place: Gilded Age and Progressive Era Los Angeles. Particularly, she shows how Willard's illness interacted with his ideas of how men and women ought to behave. In addition to struggling to fulfill societal ideals of behavior, Willard's work as a newspaper writer and civic booster placed him in an influential position in which "he helped to write the script" (52) of expectations for life in the land of sunshine.

Abel arranges her study into six chapters, plus an introduction and an epilogue, in which she traces Willard's experience with consumption from his childhood in Chicago to his death in Pasadena. The term "tuberculosis" came into vogue fairly late in Willard's life, and Abel scrupulously follows Willard's usage to indicate shifts in his understanding of his illness. Throughout the book, Abel takes care to contextualize Willard's experiences. Often, Willard's life seems to have been duly typical of his era: he joined the Masons; he dabbled in writing short fiction (though Abel mercifully spares us from his early efforts, assuring us that his letters used language culled from his ghost stories); and he spent a remarkable amount of time worrying about his position in polite society. All the while, Willard suffered from consumption and sent letters back to his family in Chicago detailing his generally poor medical condition.

Willard rose to be a prominent booster of Southern California as a destination for health-seekers. Tapping into the popular medical wisdom of the time, he promoted the area's climate as a cure for tuberculosis and suggested that white Anglo-Saxon Protestants could realize their fullest potential by moving to Los Angeles. At the same time, his health remained fragile at best, and he worried privately about the quality of his genetic makeup. The difference between Willard's public persona and private struggle with illness is stark, and Abel portrays it well. Willard's life brushed against many of the contradictory themes of turn-of-the-century Los Angeles, from the white elites' disdain

for Mexicans and love of the romantic Spanish to their mixed praise and disdain for Japanese servants. Even as Willard lay deathly ill, he wrote strident, often racist, editorials on these themes. He also dabbled in a staggering array of nineteenth-century medical fads, including the water cure and phrenology (which died) as well as bicycling and homeopathy (which have survived).

One of the greatest strengths of Abel's brief book, the care with which the author provides context for many of the otherwise incomprehensible remarks in Willard's letters home, is also its greatest weakness. This may be due to the demands of writing for a mixed audience of historians and physicians. While Abel's pauses in the narrative to provide contextual explanations make *Suffering in the Land of Sunshine* particularly useful for readers with shaky knowledge of medicine or of the history of Southern California (or both), often her explanatory pauses could go further. The author seems torn between getting on with the narrative for the sake of seeing illness through a patient's eyes and exploring the context (and meaning) of Willard's letters more fully. At times, Abel's thesis seems to be no more than that Willard was a man of his times and his experience with tuberculosis reflects the thinking of those times (i.e., he thought what he thought, because that is what people at the time thought).

Happily, Abel has another, more exciting, thesis in mind as well: the importance of gender roles in Willard's experience with illness. In the late nineteenth century, a masculine ideal of the tough, independent man rose in contrast to that of the weak, helpless woman. With his body wracked with tuberculosis, Willard could neither look nor act the physical part of his manly ideal. Through his public writing, however, he could imagine himself in full health, cured by the Southern California climate, and he could earn money to maintain his independence and fulfill part of his masculine role. Whenever his illness made him dependent on female family members for care, which was more often than not, Willard tended to downplay their help in his private writing. Willard knew, and regretted, the toll his illness took on his wife, his daughter, and other women around him. Abel observes that he was more comfortable when paying for medical care than when receiving it from family, as this created an economic relationship between healer and healed rather than one of dependence.

No matter how much his life diverged from his ideal and how much he depended on the care of his mother, sisters, sister-in-law, wife, daughter, or other women, Charles Willard sought to portray himself as being in charge of the situation. Abel does a fine job exploring and explaining Willard's life with illness. If this packed-but-tidy book is any indication, the larger work on the social history of tuberculosis in Southern California, of which it is an offshoot, ought to be a real gem.

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PROUD TO BE AN OKIE: *Cultural Politics, Country Music, and Migration to Southern California*. By Peter La Chapelle. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007. 364pp. \$24.95 paper.) Reviewed by Stephanie Vander Wel.

Peter La Chapelle's *Proud To Be An Okie* is a significant contribution to country music studies in its use of cultural theory and historical research to analyze identity politics in country music. Positioning performances and the production of Los Angeles country music at the center of his study, La Chapelle examines the formation and subsequent transformations of Okie culture in Los Angeles from the 1930s to the 1970s. His scrutiny of song lyrics, the consumer practices of Southern California country music, and political and social discourses (about migration, eugenic studies, domesticity, and patriotism) reveals the race, class, and gender components of Okie identity. In doing so, he complicates previous arguments about displaced southwesterners in California, namely by historian James N. Gregory. Concentrating on rural white migrants in California, Gregory's landmark *American Exodus* (1989) posited that Okies' brand of conservative populism, described as "plain folk Americanism," modified California's political landscape to one that embraced notions of rugged individualism, toughness, nativism, and xenophobia.¹

La Chapelle, however, demonstrates different ways in which Los Angeles country music engaged with populism, shaping the political beliefs of urban migrants over the years. For instance, the music of Woody Guthrie supported unionization and economic egalitarianism for migrant and immigrant workers in 1930s California. During World War II, dancehall culture of western swing continued to welcome racial and ethnic diversity. For the following decade, La Chapelle situates Okie identity in the socio-historical context of conservatism and the depoliticization of country music. But rather than argue that Okie culture "southernized" California, La Chapelle asserts that displaced southwesterners followed the national trend of middle-class white culture's move to suburbia and adherence to ideologies of consumerism and private home ownership. The corporate expansion of Los Angeles country music, effacing previous liberal and regional expressions of identity, contributed to aligning Okie culture to middle-class society. Yet Okies of this era did not relinquish their populist tenets. Rather, they continued a strand of "everyman patriotism of the New Deal," developed in the 1930s, while dropping their former liberal beliefs in federal relief programs and racial and ethnic equity (140).

La Chapelle's focus on Southern California is a valid area to explore given Los Angeles' role in the production of country music in the 1930s and 1940s, with radio station KFVD broadcasting country music, Capitol Records forming a country music division in the city, and dancehall culture bringing western swing to the Golden State.

¹James Gregory, *American Exodus The Dust Bowl Migrants and Okie Culture in California* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 139–171.

However, the majority of southwestern white migrants settled in California's rural central valley where many radio stations, such as Sacramento's KFBK and Stockton's KGDM, broadcast local country talent to the displaced. Historically, it was the visibility of white farm migrants that led the agricultural economist Paul Taylor and others (Dorothy Lange with her "Migrant Mother" photo, for example) to publicize nationally the influx of "drought refugees" arriving in central California in the 1930s.² Though La Chapelle augments the usual portrayal of the Depression-era migration by considering migrants in an urban setting, he overlooks the relationship between rurality and urbanity within Okie country music culture. Displaced farm laborers of the 1930s left the San Joaquin Valley to work in wartime factories in Los Angeles and other metropolitan areas during World War II. Afterward, many returned to the San Joaquin Valley, moving out to the suburbs of Sacramento, Stockton, and Bakersfield, while others relocated to those of coastal cities.

La Chapelle connects the political music of Woody Guthrie to an emerging 1930s Okie sensibility in Los Angeles that embraced liberal populism without exploring the ramifications of Guthrie's music to migrants in the Central Valley. Broadcasting on KFVD, Guthrie and his cousin Jack and later "Lefty Lou," Maxine Crissman, performed songs ("Dust Bowl Blue," Pastures of Plenty," and "Do-Re-Mi") about the political and economic exploitation of southwestern migrants. But Guthrie also made his living in country music by following the touring rodeos and country fairs that drew people from outlying areas to centralized locations. As with his contemporaries, such as the Maddox Brothers and Rose, who catered to listeners of the San Joaquin Valley, Guthrie played for tips in the local bars that surrounded these main events. Guthrie's populist messages reached audiences well beyond Los Angeles. In addition, La Chapelle addresses the cultural meaning of Merle Haggard's music in Los Angeles without connecting Haggard's performance identity to his audience in the Central Valley. Born in the San Joaquin Valley, Haggard began his musical career playing in the honky-tonks of Bakersfield and wrote songs that depicted the position of working-class Okies.

The chapter "Rhythm Kings and Riveter Queens: Race, Gender, and the Eclectic Populism of Wartime Western Swing," however, captures the historical moment when Okies flooded the city for jobs in wartime industries and danced to western swing in the evenings. While pointing to the heterogeneous soundscape of western swing, which was influenced by African American music, La Chapelle argues that performers such as Spade Cooley proudly displayed their mixed ethnicity and pride in their southwestern origins. With dominant society in California attesting that Okies were a separate ethnic group contaminated by miscegenation, Cooley's performance persona, a sophisticated urbanite of Native American ethnicity, rescued Okie culture from the margins of society.

Yet when considering the other large personality in western swing at this time, Bob Wills, I find that Wills' performance identity does not fit into the book's argument as well as Cooley's does. Wills, who never abandoned his western wear and performed jazz-

²Ibid., p. 29.

inflected pieces that nostalgically gestured to the rural Southwest, did not appear as a "hepcat." Rather, Wills' persona juxtaposed a rural past with modern practices in his music by relying upon the soundscape of jazz and amplification in his ensemble. Wills' musical imagery resonated with the lives of 1940s Okies. Migrants who left the San Joaquin Valley for Los Angeles carried with them a rural sensibility while adapting to city life, aspects of Okie culture that La Chapelle does not address.

La Chapelle's study of western swing's sonic and cultural diversity also considers women's involvement, an area to which country music scholarship has paid little attention. Since many men had enlisted in the service, Okie women constituted the main audience for western swing in Los Angeles. The chapter illustrates how women formed and participated in fan clubs, wrote articles that appeared in country music fanzines, and danced and screamed to the music of Spade Cooley and Bob Wills. Continuing his examination of women in country music, La Chapelle focuses on the music and career of Jean Shepard in relation to 1950s Okie culture. He demonstrates the ways in which her repertory attempted to present a feminist stance, countering the decade's conservative ideology of domesticity. Yet when writing about the gendered dynamics represented in country music, he often largely repeats arguments already present in country music scholarship: male singers performed songs that blamed women for masculine failure, while female artists sang pieces that refused such responsibility. The divisiveness of this approach runs the risk of separating men's music from that of women, overlooking the complexities surrounding gender represented in country music. In the 1950s and 1960s, male and female country artists enacted class anxieties about economic mobility through domestic and sexual metaphors of similar musical and lyrical gestures: use of comparable vocal ranges, affects, and timbres, as well as instrumentation, musical form, and poetic themes.

At the close of his narrative on country music and Okie identity, La Chapelle does not end with the usual account of how Okies' conservatism continued throughout the following decades. Rather, he concludes by discussing the multifaceted aspects of a populist, patriotic stance in the 1960s music of Merle Haggard. Harkening back to the populist sentiments developed in the 1930s, Haggard's brand of country music advocated awareness for the plights of the dispossessed, the working poor in California, while continuing a nationalistic tone. La Chapelle concludes his provocative book with a section detailing the many ways in which country rock bands parodied Haggard's famous "Okie from Muskogee" and provides contrasting readings to the prevalent jingoistic reception of the song. This is not to say that La Chapelle attempts to rescue Haggard from the political right; rather, he demonstrates the complexities surrounding Haggard's music. As he does throughout the book, La Chapelle provides thoughtful explorations of the intersection between country music and Okie culture in Los Angeles, unraveling an elaborate web of race, gender, class, and region.

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HELL ON WHEELS: *The Promise and Peril of America's Car Culture, 1900–1940*. By David Blanke. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press 2007. 312 pp. \$34.95.) Reviewed by Sean Smith.

Morbid curiosity aside, auto accidents are the last thing most of us want to think about. Yet since the early part of the twentieth century, car accidents have injured and claimed the lives of millions of motorists on America's roads. They are also the subjects of David Blanke's study of car culture in America from 1900 to 1940. In his book, he argues that the tension between the individual freedoms promised by the automobile and the safety risks involved in driving had a lasting impact on the public discourse about America's infatuation with the car.

To say simply that Americans had a love affair with the car belies the complexity of the nation's experience with early auto technology and the growing numbers of accidents that occurred as more and more Americans took to the roads. These accidents, often ignored by historians and those who write about car culture in America, exposed the dark side of the open road's allure, revealing the risks associated with this new technology. The conflicts between these two aspects of driving forced Americans to come to grips with the delicate balancing act of law enforcement and personal freedoms. Blanke concludes that "the growing civic tensions exposed by the new (yet deadly) freedoms of the car and the collective risk of mass automobility . . . influenced reformers and average citizens alike. Americans debated the meaning of risk and safety, of inevitable and avoidable accidents, and of perfectible engineering and flawed human nature" (3). In exploring the choices between personal freedoms and collective safety, Blanke thus reveals "how a democratic society came to terms with the accidental freedoms of the modern age" (4).

His first chapter offers a brief examination of the American driving public, the growth of the auto industry and its relationship to the federal government, and finally the rise in the car's popularity. Exploring first the awkwardness of the earliest cars and the hobbyists who tinkered with them, he then moves on to the extension of the federal highway system and concludes with a brief look at the industry that made the car more comfortable and appealing to a larger segment of society. While this chapter is informative, it offers little new insight into the growth of the industry and the rising popularity of the automobile in American culture. However, the chapter ends with a nuanced argument that sets the context for the more interesting and innovative analysis that follows. Here, Blanke posits that the expanding auto industry and the rising popularity of the car fostered a need by manufacturers to lure customers away from competing companies. To do so, manufacturers placed a greater emphasis on styling (at the cost of safety), speed, and power, all of which, he asserts, "greatly increased the chance a crash would result in serious injury" (39).

In subsequent chapters Blanke, using an impressive and creative array of primary sources, explores the rise of auto-accident frequency in the United States; the response of reformers and safety-minded government officials who believed that these increased injuries and fatalities demanded some form of action; and the reaction of the driving public to the attempts by reformers, law enforcement agencies, and highway safety engineers

to pass laws that restricted the perceived liberties offered by individual mobility. It was, he suggests, an increase in auto accidents and the growing realization that automobility came with certain risks that challenged America's growing love affair with the car.

In order to understand the genesis of auto safety regulations and laws, Blanke argues that a revaluation of the complex nature of America's relationship with the car is necessary. Pursuing a gendered and class-based analysis of driving habits in the United States, Blanke determines that Americans engaged in a debate about equality, consumption, and progressive ideals of the road and auto ownership. It was through this discussion that all Americans romanticized the thrill of the road, the independence associated with driving, and the mastery of technology that was necessary for survival in the modern world. To Americans the car offered all this and more. Thus Blanke concludes with the declaration that "[t]he automotive love affair between 1900 and 1940 was very real. Americans of all types and backgrounds expressed a common appreciation for the excitement and freedom of the car. While the more elastic concepts of equality and progress shifted considerably during these same years, drivers frequently returned to these to describe the nation's automotive culture" (89). The love-affair concept, he continues, proved intensely durable, and its "normative qualities . . . made the concept useful as both an enticement for 'good' drivers as well as a penalty for 'bad' ones" (10).

The rest of the book focuses on how Americans dealt with the inherent dangers of driving and the accidents that were an inevitable part of the personal freedoms afforded by the car. Early traffic reformers saw accidents and reckless behavior as a moral failing on the part of the individual. Reformers hoped to modify individual behavior and protect Americans' access to the freedoms of the road. But those who blamed all accidents on character flaws failed to recognize the system-wide problems and the unreliability and dangers of the cars themselves. While progressive reformers continued to tackle traffic dilemmas through moral suasion, others "were frustrated by the impractical solutions posed by those who hoped to reform the character of the driver." These traffic engineers, automobile safety advocates, government officials, and law enforcement officers instead suggested that rather than "redouble efforts to isolate the 'motorized morons' . . . the country needed to commit itself to the 'three E's' of traffic safety: engineering, education, and enforcement" (118).

Blanke ends the book exploring the Weberian way in which Americans ceded power and cultural authority to bureaucratic experts such as bureaus of motor vehicles, specialized traffic police squads, traffic courts, and other safety "experts" who advocated for governmental regulation of roads and safer automobiles. In this way Americans were introduced to new limits on their driving freedoms. Most accepted, albeit begrudgingly, the efforts to educate and license drivers in an effort to streamline and create a uniform code of vehicle conduct. They also embraced and joined the calls for new safety features that engineers were adding to newly manufactured automobiles. Ironically though, Americans almost uniformly rejected the increased enforcement of traffic laws by specialized police forces. Here Blanke's argument shines as he reveals the real tensions between public safety and the enforcement of traffic laws, and drivers' unwillingness to accept restrictions on the freedoms promised by their "love affair" with the car. Americans, he writes, were "[l]ike petulant preschoolers forced to follow the rules in kinder-

garten, [and] many drivers complained that enforcement now took 'all the joys out of motoring'" (182). Americans had thus run into the ambiguity and uncertainty that define the national relationship with the car. Blanke insists that "[w]hile we want accidents to end . . . we appear unwilling to enact measures that might insure [sic] a perfected transportation system. The primary reason for this apparent schizophrenia, I contend, remains the ceaseless appeal of the automotive love affair and the calculated risks that drivers take to maintain the freedoms promised by our cars" (204).

Ultimately this book is an important and interesting addition to the historiography of car culture in America. For too long the interpretations of driving in the United States have fallen into two camps: one that romanticizes the car and its position in our popular culture or one that presents the car as the beast in the garden spewing pollution and encouraging sprawl as it chews up nature and turns it into the open road. Blanke's book offers a nuanced and less-polemical look at our infatuation with the automobile, focusing on the individual who wanted the freedom promised by the speed and mobility of the open road and the government that wanted to regulate motorists' behavior.

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BOHEMIAN LOS ANGELES AND THE MAKING OF MODERN POLITICS. By Daniel Hurewitz. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007. 377 pp. \$29.95 cloth.) Reviewed by Whitney Strub.

Spearheaded by Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline Davis' *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold* and George Chauncey's *Gay New York*, a historiography of queer community and regional studies began emerging in the mid-1990s. As a new generation of scholars recovered forgotten and deliberately obscured histories in locales including Seattle, Memphis, Philadelphia, San Francisco, the Pacific Northwest, and the South, Los Angeles went curiously overlooked. Despite serving as the launching pad for the groundbreaking homophile organization the Mattachine Society and as home to some of the most visible gay and lesbian communities of the nation, Los Angeles waited in the shadows for its due recognition.

Bohemian Los Angeles, Daniel Hurewitz's impressive contribution to this budding historical subgenre, seeks both to rectify that omission and to expand the methodological lines of inquiry long since established by historians of queer-community formation. Paying careful heed to such traditional concerns as urban sexual geography, suppressive hetero-normative political efforts, and the transition from social perceptions of sexuality as something embodied in actions to something inhering in individual identity, Hurewitz also expands his analytical scope beyond sexuality to frame developing sexual identities within a broader social shift in understandings of self. As Victorian constructions of selfhood shaped by exterior trappings and actions gave way to a twentieth-century emphasis on interiority, Hurewitz argues, the homophile activists of the 1950s anticipated the

emergence of modern identity politics by recognizing the political significance of homosexual identities. Grounding this shift in parallel developments among other "bohemian" Angeleno communities, Hurewitz's study serves as an exemplary effort to integrate the history of sexuality, particularly queer history, into the mainstreams of the discipline in such a way as to preclude the tapering off of sexuality as a marginal concern.

Honing in on the bohemian enclave of Edendale (modern-day Silver Lake), Hurewitz begins with a vivid juxtaposition of the bookends of his study. Living on the same neighborhood hill, about a quarter-century apart, Julian Eltinge and Harry Hay nonetheless existed worlds apart in the ways they understood their respective same-sex intimacies. For world-renowned female impersonator Eltinge, gender was the crux of his identity; as long as he maintained his offstage masculinity through fights and other burly behaviors, Eltinge was able to understand his sex life as simply a series of discrete acts with little bearing on his actual nature or identity. Hay, on the other hand, who moved to Edendale in the early 1940s and founded the Mattachine Society a decade later, would pioneer the notion of homosexuality as a fixed essence, separate from gender and absolutely central to his sense of self. How society moved from one view to the other is Hurewitz's central question.

Not a household name today, Julian Eltinge very nearly was at the turn of the century. Female impersonation was still considered unproblematic family fun, and beginning in the late 1890s, Eltinge delighted audiences around the world by revealing the performative art and artifice of gender. Historians such as Sharon Ullman (in *Sex Seen*) have already found in Eltinge a fertile source for analysis of late-Victorian gender, and Hurewitz builds off this work as well as his own original research to show both how gender acted as primary demarcator of identity (with sexuality as something of a subsidiary feature) and how identity itself was seen as malleable and external, based on actions, accoutrements, and stylistic signifiers.

By the time Eltinge left New York for Los Angeles in the 1910s, this had begun to change. He took up in Edendale, a "dusty, lightly inhabited corner of the city" at the turn of the century that had become the base of the motion picture industry after the Selig Studio arrived in 1908 (23). Poor timing doomed Eltinge's nascent screen career, though, as a growing cultural concern with identity rendered his once-benign female impersonation suspect. Hurewitz documents the emergence of gay male subcultures, based around the downtown public sex circuit known as "The Run," as well as public response, such as the mass fellatio-based arrests of 1914. At that point, Hurewitz argues, notions of fixed identity had yet to fully emerge; "degenerate" was still conceived as a verb rather than a noun, a condition from which one could "regenerate" rather than a descriptor of what one was. This began to change in the 1920s, and Hurewitz's superb analysis of competing theories of identity as they were negotiated in a few selected court cases stands among the highlights of *Bohemian Los Angeles*. By the 1930s, belief in a homosexual identity had begun to obtain hegemony.

One result of this new cultural mentality was increased regulation of sexuality in the 1930s, as both cross-dressers and gay men became targets of moralistic reformers. Hurewitz shows the mind-boggling lengths to which the LAPD went to persecute and entrap gay men. His telling of the 1937-38 recall of mayor Frank Shaw adds much to

the well-known story (recently told in Tom Sitton's *Los Angeles Transformed*), including the besieged mayor's discursive conflation of communists and "deviants," and Shaw's creation of the Sex Bureau to monitor gay men. For poor Eltinge, the consequences of such actions would prove tragic.

Chapters on the communists and artists who also inhabited Edendale may initially appear as detours, leaving historians of sexuality discomfited. But in addition to providing nicely researched and nuanced historical portraits (with intrinsic interest to L.A. historians), these studies buttress the analysis of gay identity. Just as gay men arrived at homosexual identities both through the forging of their own sexual networks and the repressive hand of the state, local communists and artists also underwent the shift from Victorian to modern identities via dual self-driven and outwardly imposed impulses: social bonds and aesthetic debates over representation helped establish artistry and communism as core components of selfhood, while more LAPD repression (the notorious Red Squad) and involvement with the federal arts programs during the New Deal provided the respective interpellative "Althusserian moments" (Hurewitz handles theoretical points with a deft touch that maintains clarity for readers of various backgrounds, and, indeed, his fluid prose throughout the book is commendable).

In a chapter on the racial upheavals of wartime Los Angeles, Hurewitz shows how the recognition of oppressed racial and ethnic groups as "distinct social minorities" laid the groundwork for Harry Hay's pivotal politicization of homosexual identity in the Mattachine Society. With his finger clearly close to the pulse of contemporary scholarship, Hurewitz details the various plights of African American, Japanese, and Mexican Angelenos. While he runs the risk of reducing the experiences of these groups to a mere template for the theoretical developments of his predominantly white focus groups, Hurewitz does acknowledge the emergence of identity politics beyond his Bohemian enclave. Ultimately, the various threads of the narrative coalesce in the founding of the Mattachine Society in late 1950. While Hurewitz struggles slightly to render fresh the oft-told story, he skillfully highlights his key themes in the process, framing Hay as an innovator who contributed to modern identity politics by recognizing the homosexual parallels to subjugated racial groups, linking the personal and the political in his formulation of the homophile equal-rights agenda.

Bohemian Los Angeles makes an ideal complement to Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons' recently published *Gay L.A.*; together, the two books forcefully restore Los Angeles to its rightful place of centrality in queer history, though Hurewitz's thoughtful, ambitious work certainly stands alone on its own merits. Some readers might wish he had devoted more attention to lesbians, and others might wonder why the interiorizing discourse of psychoanalysis receives such little attention, particularly in regard to the Edendale arts community, but all will recognize that this book is not only necessary but even inspired, pushing beyond disciplinary boundaries of community studies and the history of sexuality to make broader claims about modern identity.

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PLAYING AMERICA'S GAME: *Baseball, Latinos, and the Color Line*. By Adrian Burgos, Jr. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007. 362 pp. \$21.95 paper.) Reviewed by Laurie Chin.

Scholarly conversations about American race relations often focus on the interactions between black and white, while excluding or marginalizing the involvement of other minorities. This bifurcated focus is more pronounced in the study of American baseball because of the magnitude of Jackie Robinson's crossing of the "color line" in 1947. The integration of organized baseball uprooted and mobilized Jim Crow America. Moreover, this integration is the most prominent fusion between the narrative of American baseball history and more mainstream narratives of American history. Consequently, there is a significant amount of baseball scholarship dedicated to the interactions between black and white, namely the Negro Leagues and organized baseball. This history is no doubt central to the story of baseball in the United States. However, Latinos and Latin institutions have played an equally defining role in the development of America's pastime. Contradicting the prevailing cultural notion that Latinos are new to baseball in the United States, Adrian Burgos, Jr. skillfully illustrates that omitting Latino experiences does more than exclude a supposedly insignificant minority group. In fact, the ways in which baseball has influenced and continues to influence American society cannot be fully understood without looking at the involvement of Latinos.

Despite rigid social and cultural barriers, African Americans, Caucasians, and Latinos have interacted intimately throughout baseball's development in the United States. Committed to examining the agency of individuals, Burgos, Jr. focuses heavily on the stories of individual Latino players and businessmen. At times, *Playing America's Game* goes beyond this approach to look at the interactions between Latin American and United States baseball institutions. In doing so, Burgos, Jr. exposes a complex "transnational" system of economic, social, and cultural exchange that has tremendous consequence for both Latin America and the United States. To determine the significance of these histories, Burgos, Jr. engages in several conversations about the color line in American baseball that are central to the study of American cultural history.

Burgos, Jr. asserts that a valuable discussion of the color line must occur where Latinos were "included" in American baseball (3). Drawing players from "ethnic" groups became a viable option for management during the early stages of professional baseball. In a sport with an artificial cap on the labor pool, signing players from outside the conventionally accepted ethnic groups would provide management with the upper hand in management-player relations. Because of the threat to their jobs, players were clearly against the inclusion of "non-whites." From a business perspective this simple dynamic may be the most appropriate way to characterize the situation. However, Burgos, Jr. is engaged in a much more sophisticated sociological conversation. His analysis of how and why Latinos were able to cross the color line would have been stronger had he analyzed the economic motivations of players and managers in conjunction with the cultural beliefs and mores about ethnicity to which all groups were subjected.

Burgos, Jr.'s analysis of the color line begins with a look at the careers of nineteenth-century Cubans Esteban Bellán and Vincent Nava. As was the case for many early pro-

fessional Latino baseball players, neither Bellán nor Nava passed as white. In fact, their Spanish heritage was exploited for its sensationalism. Probing further, it is clear that there was also a socio-economic dimension to color. In addition to their fair skin and European descent, Bellán, Nava, and other early Latino baseball players were educated in the United States and were from elite families. Burgos, Jr. goes further to place this situation in a broader political context. The ever-changing relationship between the United States, Cuba, and Spain clearly influenced Americans' fluid perception of Cubans and their color. At several points in his discussion, Burgos, Jr. admirably goes beyond the realm of sports to converse with historians of race relations to create a more lucid picture of race in American society. Although the overall analysis of the color line is strong, at moments it is disjointed because of the underlying theory used to frame the discussion. The analysis presents a clear picture of a color system that was firmly black versus white. However, Burgos, Jr. maintains that the color line is a "racial system that featured five major 'colored' racial groupings—white, brown, red, yellow, and black" (3). Using the division between black and white, not a spectrum of inclusion, as a theoretical basis would have solidified an otherwise strong analysis.

Organized baseball and Negro League players frequently traveled to Latin American countries to play in winter baseball leagues, participate in barnstorming tours, and even to play in Latin America permanently. This "transnational" system perpetuated the transmission of "racialized knowledge." Players from all three leagues were able to understand the various definitions and cultures surrounding ethnicity and race. This conversation is important, and Burgos, Jr. does a fine job of explaining how this knowledge was transmitted; however, the analysis would have been stronger had he delved further into the intricacies of how "racialized knowledge" influenced the ideas and concepts of color. The analysis of modern-day baseball is the strongest part of this work. With the absence of a clear color line, as Burgos, Jr. clearly illuminates, notions of color and ethnicity have translated into modern-day misconceptions and institutionalized inequities for Latinos in Major League Baseball.

The shortcomings of this book can be attributed to the scope of the project. This work addresses Latino history from baseball's early days to the present, making it nearly impossible to provide comprehensive analysis throughout the book. The majority of the discussion about Latinos focuses on Cuban baseball players and institutions. This in and of itself is not a weakness; however, Cuba has a distinct relationship with America that is not representative of all Latin American countries. Perhaps the most glaring weakness is the lack of discussion about the role of baseball and its institutions in American society. A discussion of the color line, the meanings of color, and baseball institutions demands a discussion of what those institutions meant at different moments in American history.

Playing America's Game raises scholarly conversations that are essential to the study of baseball history and race relations. Since "44 percent of all players in organized baseball" and "nearly a quarter of all major league roster spots" (244) are Latinos, it is clear that Latinos are an integral part of American baseball. Baseball scholars must therefore continue to discuss and explore the Latino experience.

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LATINOS IN THE WEST: *The Student Movement and Academic Labor in Los Angeles*. By Carlos Mora. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007. 247 pp. \$65.00 cloth.) Reviewed by Ryan Dearing.

Americans need not tune in to CNN's Lou Dobbs or C-SPAN's coverage of heated congressional debates to acknowledge the current immigration crisis that has deeply divided this country. Evidence of this historic crisis is everywhere: from the May 1, 2006, "Day without Immigrants" march, the political attacks on the failed McCain-Kennedy Immigration Bill, to the paramilitary "Minutemen" organization dedicated to "securing the border" and clad in T-shirts displaying the words, "Kill a Mexican Today!" Fears over undocumented workers, arguments over the definition of "amnesty," and the detailed immigration platforms of presidential candidates have dominated America's radio airwaves, its television and print news. In light of recent pro-immigrant school walkouts, boycotts, labor strikes, and mass marches, *Latinos in the West* provides much-needed historical context for the Latino/a struggle, addressing such issues as immigration, higher education, civil and democratic rights, affirmative action, and multiculturalism.

Latinos in the West examines the Latino/a and Chicano/a struggle to create and maintain a Chicano studies program in higher education within the sociopolitical framework of *el movimiento* (the Chicano movement) from the 1960s to the present. Focusing in particular on the 1990s social movement to create a department of Chicano studies at UCLA, Carlos Mora highlights the links between this movement and the ethnic-nationalist, youth, gender, African American, and Latino unionization movements that have served as the background to *el movimiento* and have contributed to both its accomplishments and limitations. Mora argues that the struggle for a Chicano studies program at UCLA, while directly related to institutional failures, ethnic discrimination, and problems with "neoliberal" state policies that favored private industry and private education, encapsulates a broader set of public concerns—namely "the sociopolitical constraints on democracy by conservative politics and the scope and limitations of multiculturalism as a model for society" (3).

This study makes excellent use of personal interviews, the records of Chicano activist groups, student revolutionary pamphlets, newspapers, fieldwork narratives of the Chicano studies strikes, contemporary journals, and a wealth of secondary scholarship relating to higher education, student and immigrant activism, and social-movement theory. In describing the early seeds of Chicano/Latino activism, Mora is careful not to depict the efforts of California's activists in a vacuum and correctly emphasizes the changes to global economic and political arenas that impacted the lives and consciousness of the movement's participants. Mora situates the Chicano movement in California within the context of significant historical events, including the civil rights movement; the late 1960s Chicano high school student strikes in East Los Angeles; the 1970s organization of independent sociopolitical movements such as the Raza Unida and Black Panther parties; the 1970s and 1980s military coups and human rights abuses in Latin American countries; the California strikes led by César Chávez and the United Farm Workers; various national liberation, anti-imperialist, and Marxism-influenced movements; and the Los Angeles rebellion of 1992 that followed the acquittal of the LAPD officers involved in the Rodney King beating.

Politics are critical to this story. In 1970, Chicano students, scholars, and activists found in the Raza Unida Party (RUP) a powerful, independent political organization to

voice their concerns about socioeconomic and political inequality. Influenced by third world national liberation movements, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and by icons such as Che Guevara and Malcolm X, the RUP participated in both electoral politics and more radical "direct action" campaigns throughout the American Southwest. Mora, however, identifies major flaws in the organization and leadership of the RUP that contributed to the decline of the Chicano movement. These include the lack of a coherent political ideology, internal conflicts of interest, poor financial resources, and the party's mainstream (Chicano nationalist) leadership's paranoia with asserting control over the organization by distancing socialists from key positions. Mora disagrees with the Chicano generation scholars who blame the Socialist Workers Party and its Transitional Program for Chicano Liberation for the ultimate decay of the *movimiento* and argues instead that socialists within the RUP offered a more coherent sociopolitical platform, were more successful in local chapters and labor committees of the party in Southern California, and were unfairly distanced for their critique of nationalism that was interpreted as pro-Marxist and "ultraleftist" by the American public.

The Chicano generation of the late 1960s and 1970s struggled mightily to gain access to quality higher education. While Chicano academics were few, pioneers such as Carlos Castañeda and George I. Sánchez helped inspire *Aztlán* and other academic journals that sought to serve both students and Chicano communities by proposing new paradigms for Chicano studies geared toward Chicano heritage and identity and the "internal colony" model. During the recession of the early 1990s, UCLA reacted to sharp budget constraints by restructuring the university along the lines of a modern corporation, with administrators becoming more connected with private donors, foundations, and CEO positions in large businesses. Introducing ideas such as "outsourcing," "downsizing," and "quality control," administrators sought to distance faculty from the management of schools and research facilities, and it was during this restructuring that the drive for a department of Chicano studies gained momentum. Mobilizing student groups, underpaid graduate employees, university service workers, undervalued Chicano/Latino faculty, labor unions, and communities, the Chicano studies movement used public debates, teach-ins, hunger strikes, mass marches, and rallies, culminating in the 1993 creation of the César E. Chávez Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana and Chicano Studies.

Latinos in the West appears at both a tragic and critical period in American history when our appreciation of the Latino/a contributions to this country must be deepened. Mora urges Americans not to allow the post-9/11 phobia and condemnation of everything "foreign" dupe us into conflating immigrants and minorities with anti-patriots, criminals, and terrorists. The U.S. is brimming with people who are not only American but belong to different cultures and nations. Latinos have responded to the current crisis by seeking inclusion as "100 percent Americans and 100 percent Latinos" (224) and have extended their support to today's most powerless group: undocumented immigrant workers.

Ryan Dearing is a Ph.D. candidate and instructor in the Department of History, and a research fellow at the Tanner Humanities Center, University of Utah. His work has appeared in the *Western Historical Quarterly*, *Journal of the West*, *Labor Studies Journal*, and the *Indiana Magazine of History*.

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